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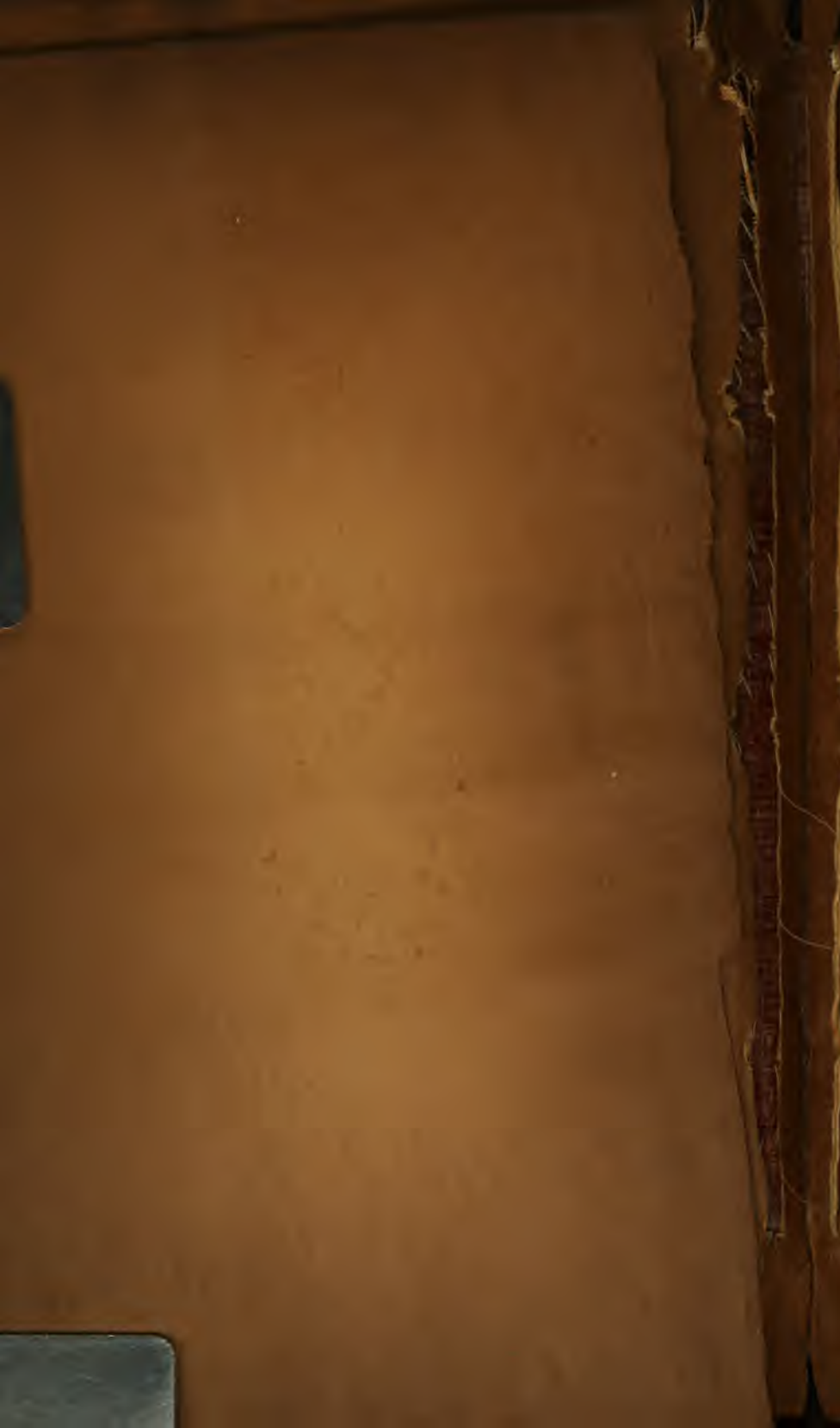
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HISTORICAL
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AN

HISTORICAL FRAGMENT

RELATIVE TO

HER LATE MAJESTY

QUEEN CAROLINE.

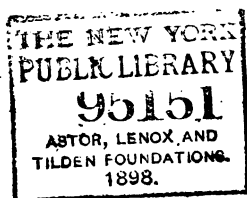
“ The Popish plot is a subject, which, for the credit of the nation,
“ it were better to bury in eternal oblivion ; but which it is necessary
“ to perpetuate, as well to maintain the truth of history, as to warn,
“ if possible, our posterity and all mankind, never again to fall into
“ so shameful, and so barbarous a delusion.”—HUME.

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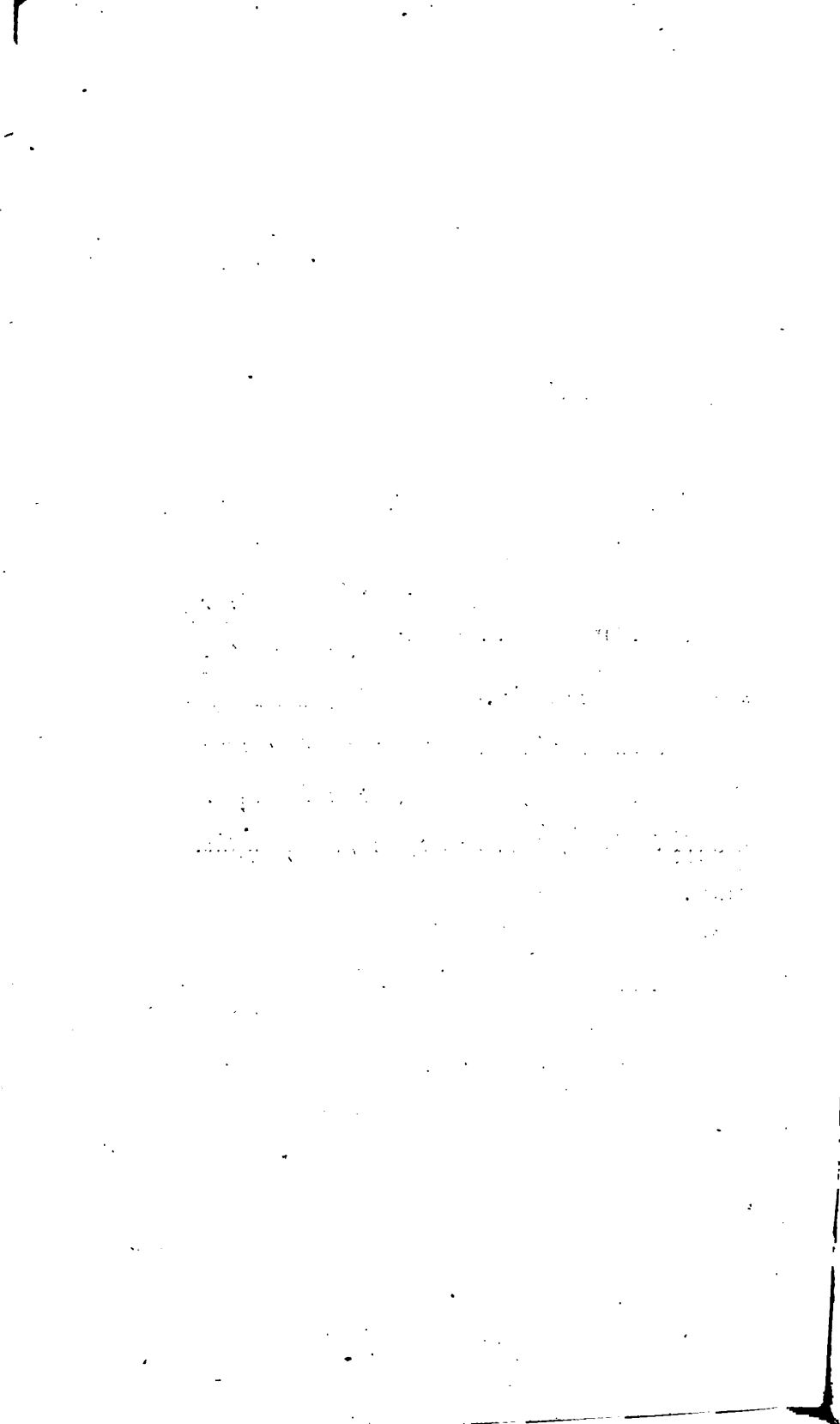
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This Fragment is published, for the present, anonymously; but as the Author stands in no awe, either of her late Majesty's friends, or of her enemies, his name will be given up, instantler, should occasion require.

N.B. The reader will, at the end of a very few pages, discover, that the Author has never attached himself to any party or faction in the State.



AN
HISTORICAL FRAGMENT,
&c.

AT the time of the Address of the House of Commons, headed by Mr. Wilberforce, I was invited by Mr. W—— M——, to exercise what little influence I possessed, as a literary man, in her Majesty's behalf; and, in consequence, having obtained some previous insight into the subject, I wrote the following letter to the FATHER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS:—

“ As it has been universally conceded, that the meditated disclosures, be they founded on truth or falsehood, must produce some unexampled evils;—as a lover of my country, and as a friend to practical freedom, I presume to submit the following plan of conciliation to your earnest attention.

“ The House of Brunswick, ardent and heroic in its character, and jealous of its honour, has long enjoyed the

undivided affection of the people, who are, at all times, ready to make sacrifices, in order to secure its permanent dignity and happiness. The House of Brunswick, with a magnanimity worthy of its illustrious character, will, in return, feel an exalted satisfaction in rewarding that attachment, by a sacrifice of its feelings, upon the ground, that the public good ought to be its first and only care.—With these impressions, Sir, I propose, that his Grace the Duke of WELLINGTON, the Earl of LIVERPOOL, Lord HARROWBY, and Lord Viscount SIDMOUTH; the Marquis of CAMDEN, Earl GREY, Lord HOLLAND, and Lord ERSKINE, should be invited by you, as Father of the House of Commons, for the purpose of considering the propriety of recommending to the Royal and Illustrious Parties, alluded to, terms, grounded upon something like the following plan of conciliation, the acceptance of which being essentially understood, *in limine*, as involving the honour of neither:

“TERMS PROPOSED:—That her Majesty the Queen should waive the points in respect to the Liturgy and the Coronation, but be allowed the privilege of holding one Drawing-room every year, at Kensington Palace. To receive £55,000. per annum, the Palace of Hampton Court (now unoccupied) for life, and to enjoy the free exercise of all the rights, belonging to her as a British Queen.”

This letter, being enclosed to her Majesty, was the cause of my subsequent introduction to one of her Majesty's private friends. The proposal, it contained, involving no

compromise on either side, the more moderate were disposed to listen to it with a sincere disposition ; but there was a violent party on both sides, who succeeded in carrying measures to a more calamitous extent ;—unqualified victory being the only one they would condescend to accept.

Her Majesty, too, was herself one of these ; for this letter having led to a conversation relative to the Address of the House of Commons, one of her Majesty's friends presumed to remonstrate with her on not accepting terms, which would give her a victory without the danger of fighting. " It is true," replied her Majesty, " victory is now in my grasp, and without the danger of a battle ; but I will accept no victory, until I have proved to the world, that I am worthy of enjoying it."

The fact was, her Majesty had in her possession, at that time, duplicates of the evidence taken before the Commission at Milan, and which had been placed in her hands by one of the persons employed in that Commission ; and she anticipated nothing from such evidence, but the most triumphant success. It was, I believe, one of her Majesty's errors, that she did

not place this evidence in the hands of her advisers. Her Majesty, indeed, had a reason, which she did not choose to explain, why she wished few or none to know that such evidence was in her possession.

Some person said, one day, to Pope's Earl of Oxford—"The measure will never do; the people will never bear it!" "Will they not?" answered he. "You do not know what the good people of this country will bear!"—Let this be as it will, one thing is certain; and that is, that "the good people" of England entertain the greatest possible degree of detestation against anything bearing the colour of injustice or persecution; in so much, that the surest way to lift even unworthy enemies into importance is to persecute them.

When the Princess Charlotte died, in the midst of the general sympathy, I believe there were only two poems which, even distantly, alluded to the feelings of the mother; though there were monodies, elegies, and other poems, to the amount of not less than three hundred and forty!

One of these poems was written by myself, at the request of one of the Members

for Coventry ; but so guarded was I cautioned to be, since the poem was to answer a public purpose, that I could only afford, as it were, to allude to her late Majesty in the following imperfect manner :—

“ Fair was her morn of life! her FATHER’s pride,
Her MOTHER’s hope.”——

A worthy Baronet, who saw these lines previous to their publication, confessed the difficulty was conquered. “ Had it not been for the mother,” said he, “ I would have written these lines, you have been requested to write, myself. But it was too dangerous a sea for my small bark to venture upon !”

I allude to all this, my Lord Duke, merely with a view of recalling to your Grace’s recollection, how entirely lost to the sympathy of the British people the late Queen was, when Princess of Wales, at the death of her daughter ! But no sooner does she land, under an ignominious charge, beset with enemies on all sides, and hunted, as it were, into a net, laid purposely for her destruction, than almost the whole country flies to her protection in a moment !

While the Queen's enemies, both in and out of the two Houses of Parliament, exercised every species of irritation and hostility against her, there was not a movement of hers they did not openly condemn. She could scarcely throw a shawl over her shoulders without a sarcasm, an insult, or an accusation. They resembled some of the enemies of Charles the First. "The English," says the Leviathan, "would never have taken it well, that the Parliament should make war on the King, upon any provocation, unless it were in their own defence; in case the King should make war upon them; and therefore it behoved them to provoke the King, that he might do something that might look like hostility.* * Therefore they resolved to proceed with him, like skilful hunters; first to single him out by men, disposed in all parts, to drive him into the open field; and then, in case he should but seem to turn head, to call that a making of war against the Parliament."

If one invidious stratagem of this kind were practised against Charles the First, there were more than a thousand practised against the unfortunate Queen. Never, in the history

of civilized society, was there exhibited a more beautiful display of moral feeling on the part of the public, or a more frightful picture of infuriated zeal and calumny on that of individuals. There were lies for posterity, lies for the month, lies for the week, lies for the day, and even lies which were expected to answer the purpose if only believed for an hour! Her adversaries were in harness, every day and all the week. They never slept! Almost the whole tide of fashion ran against her; and so violently, that almost every drawing-room, at the western part of the metropolis, seemed to be turned into a loud-sounding gallery for the propagation of falsehoods, and the indulgence of the most astounding abuse! There was never any thing resembling it in any age or country.

This however is, of course, not meant to apply to the conversation of those respectable persons of the community, who spoke merely as they thought; and who were, therefore, as far from being actuated by views of interest or ambition, as they were by feelings of malevolence. Persons who, having no

wish to condemn her Majesty unheard, were equally averse to attributing improper motives to those, who were active and zealous in supporting a cause, they believed to be just.

Her Majesty suffered in the opinion of many worthy persons, from the circumstance of their having read, some years ago, a contemptible romance, entitled "The Spirit of the Book." This miserable tissue of absurdity, which many readers took for a legitimate history of her Majesty's early life, was written by a person, to whom the late Duke of Northumberland, and the present Lord Byron, I am told, gave four hundred pounds to enable him to write his own memoirs; and which memoirs were written, printed, published, and read, to the no small edification of persons, delighting in spurious fact and gaudy colouring. "The Spirit of the Book," perhaps, did her Majesty more secret injury, than all the libels published against her. It was made up, in part, from a copy of the evidence of the Blackheath Conspiracy, at that time in the possession of a person, whom I knew very

well, and who, afterwards, received for it no less than a thousand pounds.

Some persons affect to have a very great contempt for the "good people" of England. I confess, I do not share in so magnificent an impertinence. I believe, that when a subject comes, fairly and undisguisedly, before the "good people" of England, they are right in opinion and conclusion, ninety times out of an hundred.* I believe, too, of the populace, that greater lovers of justice are nowhere to be found upon the face of

* Such has been the fluctuating state of parties in this country, that the people have always been under the necessity of exercising some diligence, lest, in their endeavour to avoid one faction, they suffered by another. Hence "popular discontent" and "popular inconstancy" have been perpetually on the lips of aristocratical reasoners. But the fact is, the people of England are never publicly inconstant or discontented: until they have reason so to be. They admire principles more than they respect persons; and if a popular character change the colours of his ship, it is no reason, why the people should be accused of inconstancy; should they, plainly, tell him they desire him no longer for an admiral or a pilot.

the earth.* **THE PEOPLE**, for the most part, believed **her Majesty** guilty or innocent, according to the style of the journals which they read; but the **POPULACE**, almost to an individual, were not only the Queen's friends, but enthusiastically so; and this, not in a small degree arising from the multitude of ballads, that were sung in every city, town, village, and hamlet, throughout the kingdom. Sir Philip Sidney might well

* Those are in error, who would compare the populace of England, with that of Rome, represented in Livy and Plutarch, in the times of Coriolanus and Caesar:—these, also, are mistaken, who suppose them to resemble their forefathers in the time of Cade, Will the weaver, and Dick, the butcher of Ashford;—and equally so are those, who would compare them with their predecessors during the phrenzy of Lord George Gordon. The *populace* are now, in point of intelligence, almost what the *people* were then; and unless the higher orders of society advance in feeling, virtue, and intelligence, and change the system of their education from a knowledge of words to a knowledge of things, they will, at no very distant period, find, that the people, equal to them now in point of information, will immeasurably surpass them in every quality, that can distinguish humanity.

declare, that he cared not who made the laws, so he might be permitted to write the ballads.

Frequently, when her Majesty rode out in the neighbourhood of London, the populace would get upon her coach; and once or twice, I believe, some even presumed to sit upon the roof. This naturally reminds us of the unfortunate Louis XVIth's return from Versailles, after wearing the national cockade. "His coach was surrounded," says an eye-witness,* "with citizens of all classes; some were mounted behind the coach, some before, and some on the box; there were even a few on the very top."

There were two orders of persons, more particularly arrayed against her Majesty—men and women of the world, and worldly-minded men and women.

* "Le départ du Roi fut un vrai triomphe. Les Parisiens étoient ivres de leur amour pour lui; sa voiture étoit entourée de citoyens de toutes les classes; les uns étoient derrière la carrosse, ceux-ci à la portière, d'autres sur la sieze du chocher, il y en avoit jusques sur l'imperiale."

Roland was, one day, arguing with Mirabeau, relative to the superficiality of worldly-minded persons; and, quoting an Italian proverb, implying that bladders swim on the surface, while gold dives to the bottom; "Well!" exclaimed Mirabeau, "and had you not rather swim than sink?"—"Some men err from the want of experience," gravely returned Roland; "and others do the same from the abundance of it; having too severe an opinion of mankind, crediting no one, and believing honesty itself to be nothing but policy in disguise. Would you wish to resemble them? Nothing more easy;—as they say in England, 'tis as easy as lying; and, as a reward for the facility, nothing is more essentially contemptible."

Her Majesty adopted a child. In this she seems to have been actuated by feelings, similar to those, which animated Marie Antoinette, and the present Marie Louise, Archduchess of Parma. "Deprived of the happiness of giving an heir to the crown," says Madame Campan, "the Queen endeavoured to create illusions around her, to beguile her feelings. She had always children, belong-

ing to the people of her house near her, and lavished the tenderest caresses upon them. She had long been desirous of bringing up one of them herself, and of making it the constant object of her care.—A little village boy, four or five years old, full of health, with a pleasant countenance, remarkably large blue eyes, and fine light hair, carelessly got under the feet of the Queen's horses, when she was taking an airing in a calash, through the hamlet of Saint Michel, near Luciennes. The coachman and postillions stopped the horses, and the child was rescued from its imminent peril, without the slightest injury. Its grandmother rushed out of the door of her cottage to take it; but the Queen stood up in her calash, and extending her arms to the old woman, called out, that the child was hers, and that Providence had given it to her to console her, no doubt, until she should have the happiness of having one herself. “Is his mother alive?” asked the Queen: “No, madam; my daughter died last winter, and left five small children upon my hands.” “I will take this one, and provide for all the rest: do

you consent?" " Ah! madam, they are too fortunate," replied the cottager: " but James is very wayward; I hope he will stay with you!" The Queen, taking little James upon her knee, said, that she would soon make him used to her; that it should be her occupation; and she ordered the equipage to proceed. It was necessary, however, to shorten the ride, so violently did James scream, and kick the Queen and the ladies. The arrival of her Majesty at her apartments of Versailles, holding the little rustic by the hand, astonished the whole household. He screamed out lustily, that he wanted his grandmother; his brother Louis, and his sister Marianne; nothing could calm him. He was taken away by the wife of a servant, who was appointed to attend him as nurse; the other children were put to school. Poor James, whose family name was Arnaud, came back to the Queen two days afterwards. A white frock trimmed with lace, a rose-coloured sash with silver fringe, and a hat decorated with feathers, were now substituted for the woollen cap and the little red frock, and

wooden shoes. The child was really very beautiful; the Queen was enchanted with him; he was brought to her every morning at nine o'clock; he breakfasted and dined with her, and often with the King: she liked to call him *my child*, and lavished the tenderest caresses upon him."

It is melancholy to add, that this child, when he arrived at the age of twenty, from the fear of being thought a favoured creature of the Queen, "became the most sanguinary terrorist of Versailles."*

The calumniators of Queen Caroline seem to have been deeply versed in the history of Marie Antoinette. Ladies of rank conducted themselves to both in a manner, no way to be justified. "The nobility will ruin us," the Queen of France would often exclaim to Madame Campan; "but I believe, we cannot save ourselves without them. We act sometimes in a manner that offends them, but only with good intentions towards them. Nevertheless, when I encounter angry looks from those, who surround us, I am

* Madame Campan.

grieved at it. Then we adopt some proceeding, or impart something in confidence, to encourage all these poor people, who really have a great deal to suffer. They spread it abroad ; the revolutionists are informed of it, and take the alarm ; the Assembly becomes more urgent and more malignant, and dangers encrease." At length, honours and prerogatives being abolished, the Queen was forsaken by the Duchess de Duras, and many other ladies. They would remain no longer, since they had lost their right to the *tabouret* at Court.

All courtiers are time-servers by profession ; and yet there is, occasionally, an honesty even in courtiers. Thus, during the most virulent season of invective, poured out against the helpless and truly unfortunate Queen Caroline, a courtier, who had once been Lord Chamberlain to George the Third, and who was then one of the Post-masters General to George the Fourth, though he was, of course and of necessity, a ministerialist, yet, to his eternal honour and safety, (now that he is dead), he permitted his servants, dependants, and tenants, to think and to

speak, according to their own judgment and inclination.

For the most part, men and women of high birth think they confer distinguished honour upon persons whom they employ. They squeeze them, as they would juice out of oranges; and pay, in return for the liquor, not even so much as the value of the peel. Persons of comparatively inferior rank, therefore, should be cautious of having any intercourse with them: they lose their time, the cream of their ability, the essence of their property, and perhaps their integrity, merely to oblige persons, who, generally speaking, have no more gratitude to commoners, than if they were so many cats and dogs.

It is, however, not always thus: If her late Majesty, for instance, could have rewarded her friends as she wished, she would have made most of them peers and peeresses. It might have been said of her Majesty, as it was of Archbishop Secker—"do my Lord of Canterbury a good turn; and he is your friend for ever." Her Majesty, indeed, had little or no discretion in her gratitude:—hence gratitude was

the most effective enemy she possessed. But how destitute, how forlorn, her condition once was, may be estimated by the circumstance of her condescending to accept the gratuitous but feeble assistance of so humble an individual as myself.

* * * *

Her Majesty's character underwent some change on her return to England. Indeed, from long injury, frequent treachery, unexampled ingratitude, and studied insult, her Majesty had become, occasionally, so suspicious, that she made a strict confidant of no one. She gave her confidence only in parts. Hence many things are known to some individuals, of which others have not the most distant idea, though perhaps they were engaged upon the very same subject. This, however, applies only to the period of her return to England, and subsequently. Previous to her arrival at St. Omers, her Majesty was the most open and generous of all human beings!

The female part of her Majesty's family were particularly unfortunate. The Princess of Brunswick married Frederic, bar-

barously styled the Great:—her marriage was never consummated. The Princess Caroline Matilda's melancholy fate is but too well known:—another of her Majesty's aunts, married to the Crown Prince of Prussia, was divorced:—and her Majesty's own mother, the Duchess of Brunswick, was compelled, occasionally, to receive the mistress of her own husband.

“ Oh, Tubal, Tubal, what some Christians are!”

Some of her Majesty's judges the Queen regarded with very great respect, although they spoke strongly and voted hostilely. Indeed her Majesty could not but feel, that there were many circumstances of imprudence, on her part, that could not fail to excite something of more than suspicion in the minds even of those, the best disposed to overlook them. I, for one, as much believed her Majesty to be guilty, till I heard of some circumstances, that occurred at St. Omers, as I do now believe, that nearly the whole of the evidence against her was bottomed in the most insidious form that perjury could assume.

There were others, that her Majesty regarded with the greatest possible degree of contempt and derision. To the Duke of Montrose, Lord Sheffield, and his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, however, she felt no small degree of obligation; for they cast so great an air of ridicule over the whole proceedings, that, for some time, "the House of Lords" was familiarly known by the appellation of "the House of Fools."*

That the Dukes of Montrose and Newcastle should infringe the laws of decorum could be no great subject for surprise;—but that the friend of the learned and accomplished Gibbon should furnish so great a solecism in legislation, as to vote against her Majesty, without hearing a word of her defence, could not but excite a smile in the

* The stagnation of public business at this period was even worse than that which distinguished the last days of Queen Anne.

"These four or five months last past," wrote Bolingbroke to Prior, then resident at Paris, "have afforded me such a scene, as I hope never again to be an actor in. All the confusion, which could be created by the disunion of friends and the malice of enemies,

countenances of some, regret in others, and a lively indignation in most.

Then, as to the Marquis of A——, the patriarch of a house forming the most curious family-party in all Christendom ; the Marquis of H——, the accomplished seducer of another man's wife ; the Marquis of E—— ; Lord P—— ; and some few others, equally distinguished in the annals of gallantry and fashion ;—I believe her Majesty was not sorry to find them in the ranks of

has subsisted at Court and in Parliament. Little or no public business has been transacted in domestic affairs ; and as to you and your Continent, we have never once cast an eye towards you. We never could be so justly styled *divisos orbe Britannos*."

These party violences made the Queen miserable. She even alluded to them in the last speech she delivered from the throne.—" I must tell you plainly," said she, " that these desirable ends can never be obtained, unless you bring the same dispositions on your parts ; unless all groundless jealousies, which create and foment divisions among you, be laid aside ; and unless you shew the same regard for my just prerogative, and for the honour of my Government, as I have always expressed for your rights, and the rights of my people."

her adversaries. The late Marquis of H——, overwhelmed with apprehension and chagrin, was too much indisposed to be either a friend or an enemy; but Dr. Howley excited ridicule, astonishment, or alarm, in the breasts of every man in the community; for he asserted, publicly and in his place, as Bishop of London, that even if his Majesty had committed adultery, his Majesty could do no wrong.*

* The Archbishop of Canterbury seems to have thought otherwise.—The following passages occur in his Grace's Sermon, at the Coronation;—perhaps one of the most beautiful political sermons extant:—"It behoved Royalty to be strenuous in giving examples of purity in its own person, for its high situation would not save it from falling. The Scripture constantly warned men "who were exalted to take care lest they should fall." The King, though raised much above men, should never forget that he was human; he should never forget that his virtues formed one of the strongest ties between him and his people. The gratitude and respect of the subject rested upon the virtues of the monarch, and their respect for him was in the same proportion as his virtues were conspicuous. That the attachment of the people to the King was always commensurate to the degrees of virtue in the latter was a

James the First invited Dr. Donne to dinner. When he arrived, "Dr. Donne,"

proposition too plain to be demonstrated. Every page in history proved that people were neither regardless of the character of their Sovereign, nor blind to his merits. The records of every nation showed that where the Prince was just, indulgent, and merciful, the people were loyal, obedient, and submissive. It was in the power of kings to do those under them incalculable benefits. True it might be, that human nature was open to imaginary complaints; but there were, too, many which the kindness, or even justice, of the Sovereign might alleviate. His power might protect innocence from insult, and impotency from injury. He might give to weakness the security of strength, and take from pride the insolence of security. In every government, however regulated, much remained with the Prince; and the sword of mercy, which was always at his side, was the brightest ornament of his throne. He might repress disorders; he might extinguish domestic feuds; he might allay party divisions; he might, by the magic of his power, reconcile conflicting passions.

* * * *

Our prudence, our morality, and our devotion to the cause of religion, were proverbial amongst other nations, and the virtues of our present King seemed to secure a permanency to that feeling. But the example of the Ruler was most material to the continuance of this feeling; and if morality once came to be dis-

said his Majesty, " I have invited you to dinner to-day; but as custom will not allow you to sit down with me, I will carve you a dish, that I am sure you will like.

countenanced by the Sovereign, it was in vain to talk of the influence of the law as a remedy.* When the whole mass of the people became corrupted by bad example, the law would be very inefficient in producing a Reform. But it was no argument against a strict adherence to morality to say, that the State was successful abroad. A State might certainly succeed though its sources were corrupted; but was prosperity happiness? The truth was, whether it led to temporal success or not, there ought to be but one feeling for exalted virtue; namely, respect. And it behoved the Ruler in any event to give countenance to such virtue, since he was the guardian of the laws, and it was his duty to preserve the laws, by supporting those who adhered to him, and discountenancing wrong-doers. But he ought, also, himself to give examples of exemplary living; since a king had not only the consequences of the sins, which he might commit himself, to answer for, but he was also responsible for the effects, which his example had upon others.

* The most reverend Prelate seems to have read Claudian.

Componitur orbis

Regis ad exemplum;—nec sic inflectere sensus

Humanos edicta valent, quam vita regentis.

You love London; I do therefore make you Dean of St. Paul's. Take the meat home to your study, and say grace; and much good may it do you."

Dr. Thomas Cartwright was made Bishop of Chester by James the Second, for asserting in one of his sermons, that "the King's promises to his Parliament were not binding on his sacred Majesty." Thus reminding us of those Cadis, who insist, that the Grand Seignor ought not to respect his oath, if that oath limit his authority.

Burnet,—far from being the worst of his order,—preached a sermon, in which he insisted, that if William the Third had no other right to the Throne, he had one, which no one could dispute,—“the right of conquest.”—A more complaisant argument could scarcely emanate from the doctors of the Sorbonne,—the most afflicting incubi that ever sat upon the genius of man! These subtle theologians assured Louis XIV. that, as all the lands and property of his subjects were his, when he levied taxes he took nothing that did not belong to himself.

The present Bishop of St. David's refused an highly advantageous translation: Hurd, Bishop of Worcester, declined the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury: and when Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, was offered a richer see, than the one he possessed, by Lord Chesterfield, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he replied, "My Lord, I love my neighbours, and my neighbours love me. I am old; why then in my age should I begin to form new connections, and tear myself from those friends, who are the happiness of my life." — *O si sic omnes!*

The argument of the Bishop of London was much commented upon, even by some of his own clergy. Others did not hesitate to assert, that a few more declarations of that sort would go no small way to demoralize the whole country; and others as gravely asserted, that they would tend, in no slight degree, to revive those ridiculous times, when—

Tinkers bawl'd aloud to settle
Church discipline, for patching kettle;
The oyster-women lock'd their fish up,
And trudg'd away, to cry No Bishop.

Botchers left old clothes in the lurch,
 And fell to turn and patch the church.
 ~ Some cry'd the Covenant, instead
 Of pudding, pies, and gingerbread ;
 And some for old suits, coats, or cloak,
 No surplices, nor service-book.—BUTLER.

It cannot be denied, that some* of her Majesty's enemies did her much more good, than even the best of her friends. And it could not but be a circumstance of great pride and satisfaction to her Majesty, that so many of the old nobility were ardently attached to the belief, that she was innocent:—as the three premier Dukes ; Norfolk, Hamilton, and Leinster. The Dukes of Somerset, Grafton, Devonshire, Bedford, Roxburgh, &c. &c. &c.

* * * * *

Her Majesty was, at one time, overwhelmed with indignation at the apparent heartless conduct of Prince Leopold ;—

* Most of the administrations of this country have been injured by the coarseness, violence, and folly of their partisans.—“ There was never any party, faction, sect, or cabal whatever,” says Swift, “ in which the most ignorant were not the most violent.”

and the more so, since she felt that he had been raised from even abject penury, by a marriage with her daughter, to a Royal house, and the enjoyment of 50,000*l.* a year. Her Majesty knew, also, that the late Princess Charlotte had recommended her, but a few minutes before she died, in the most affectionate manner, to his most earnest solicitude. Her Majesty's anger, however, subsided in a great degree, upon his Royal Highness calling upon her, soon after the close of the evidence for the prosecution.

This prince is a very remarkable instance of the benefits sometimes arising out of early disappointments. "Prince Leopold," said Napoleon to Las Cases, "once had a chance of becoming my aid-de-camp. He solicited the appointment, and I don't know what prevented his obtaining it: however, it was lucky for him that his application proved unsuccessful. Had it been otherwise, his present marriage would never have taken place. Who can pretend to say what is fortunate or unfortunate in the events of life? * * A crowd of German princes solicited the same favour. When I estab-

lished the confederation of the Rhine, the sovereigns, who were included in it, took it for granted, that I intended to revive in my person the etiquette and forms of the Holy Roman Empire; and all, even kings themselves, were eager to join my retinue. One wished to be appointed my cupbearer; another my grand butler, &c. At this period, the Princes of Germany literally invaded the Tuileries. They crowded my saloons, and modestly mingled with the officers of my household. It was the same with the Italians, Spaniards, and Portuguese; in short, all the most exalted individuals in Europe were assembled at the Tuileries."

* * * *

One impression particularly injured the late Queen in the eyes of multitudes, viz. that of her being subject to inebriation. There was certainly, at times, some colouring for this; and I once saw her Majesty very nearly, when she appeared overwhelmed either with wine, liquors, or opium. On inquiry, I found, however, that her Majesty had not been able to obtain oblivion for the two preceding nights.

Persons of quality live much more simply and abstemiously, than the world generally suppose. The Princesses of France drank nothing but water; and Queen Caroline, during the time of her persecution so frequently accused of intoxication, perhaps never drank three glasses of wine, consecutively, in all her life.

This calumny has since been forcibly recalled to my mind, by reading another passage in Madame Campan's *Memoirs*:—"The King supposed that his body-guards, upon their return into the country, after having performed their quarterly duty at Court, related what they had seen; and thus, exaggerated accounts being repeated, became at last totally perverted. Hence originated the mistake, relative to the King's supposed propensity to drinking. The King, who disliked sleeping out of his usual bed, was accustomed to leave his hunting seat after supper. He generally slept soundly in his carriage, and awoke only on his arrival at the court-yard of his palace. He used to get down from his carriage in the midst of his body-guards,

staggering, as a man half awake will do, which was mistaken for a state of intoxication."

The belief, that her Majesty was addicted to this vice, was entertained only by the lowest of her calumniators. Most persons of condition knew expressly to the contrary; but many persons of condition assisted in propagating the calumny nevertheless.

Few things, during all this time, weighed more against her Majesty with the idle and the profligate, than the belief, which prevailed almost universally amongst them, (and the contagion spread even much farther) that his Majesty had signified to Mr. Sheridan, some years since, that he had partaken of the Princess's bed for one night, and could never enter it again.

Others gave the presumed circumstance a far different interpretation. "The Prince," said they, "gave his word to a celebrated female, that he would consummate the marriage, and never sleep with his wife afterwards."

I should not have alluded to these inde-

licate reports, were it not for the purpose of putting upon record a positive denial of both; for those opposite versions tended, most materially, to justify the presumed conduct of both parties. If the Queen were an object of disgust, when young, the Prince was supposed to be justified in not continuing to act the part of a husband: and if, on the other hand, the Prince had given so profligate a promise, then it was contended, that the Princess was justified in pursuing the course, which formed the ground of the charges exhibited against her.

Neither of these inferences ought to have been entertained, let the circumstances have been as they might. But the fact is, both versions were false. For, some little time after their marriage, being at Windsor upon a visit to their late Majesties, the Prince and Princess occupied not only the same room, but the same bed. This I know: and I have almost equal knowledge of their accordance with this custom, for three or four months after that visit.

From that period,—but not before,—her Majesty might, perhaps, turn with melan-

choly interest to a passage in Shakspeare's personification of Queen Catherine :

" Would I had never trod this English earth !
Or felt the flatteries that grow upon it !
I am the most unhappy woman living.
Shipwreck'd upon a kingdom, where no pity,
No friends, no hope, no kindred weep for me ;
Even no grave allowed me."

Henry VIII. Act iii. Scene i.

A short time previous to the termination of the trial, I proposed, by letter, that her Majesty should go to St. Paul's.

To ———

I am much pleased, that her Majesty approves the hint I ventured to give. I would, also, presume to recommend her Majesty to adopt another in case the trial should terminate as we hope. There will, assuredly, be great rejoicings, not only in London, but in the country; and it would add most materially to the effect of the whole, and serve to shew her Majesty's faith and gratitude, were her Majesty to go to St. Paul's to return thanks, as Queen Elizabeth did after the destruction of the Spanish fleet; and Queen Anne after the battles of Blenheim and Ramillies. * * *

ANSWER.

" Sir,—Being much hurried, I have only time to say, that I will make known your communication to

her Majesty. * * * Should I receive any commands from her Majesty, I will instantly communicate them."

This letter and several others I still retain in my possession ; but I returned all letters, I received previous to this, to Brandenburg House, for the same reason that Bertrand de Molleville returned those of Louis XVI. "I received, by night only," says that Minister in his private memoirs, "the King's answer, written with his own hand, in the margin of my letter. Such was the usual form of my correspondence with him. I always sent them back, with the day's letter that to which I had replied the day before ; so that my letters and his answers, of which I contented myself with taking notes only, never remained with me twenty-four hours. I proposed this arrangement to his Majesty, to remove all uneasiness from his mind."

My letter led to her Majesty's visit to St. Paul's.

Few writers will be able to do justice to the varied emotions, that pervaded this vast city on that memorable day : a day never

surpassed for the countless multitudes that appeared in the streets, and the decorum and enthusiastic devotion to her Majesty that animated the moving mass:—the imposing spectacle of a Queen returning thanks in the midst of thousands;—the rage depicted in the countenances of those, who were too wise to signify their discontent;—and the joyful solemnity that distinguished the tens of thousands, whose every feeling seemed to beat in accordance with injured, insulted, and calumniated Majesty.

So profound indeed was the sentiment, that no sooner had the Queen returned out of the city, than “the life and strength of it,” as an elegant writer, who was present, expressed it, “which had been drawn together into a mighty flood, was soon diffused into its various channels, as the blood is thrown from the heart into the smaller vessels; and almost within the space of an hour, the city presented no aspect different from that of its ordinary and peaceful circulation.” No person, indeed, who wit-

nessed the extraordinary sensation of that day, will ever forget it.

It was a fortunate circumstance the affair thus terminated. Had the Lords proceeded up to judgment, such scenes would have occurred as appals my very soul to think upon. As Mr. Brougham prophesied,—even in the face of the House itself,—the House of Peers would, there can be little doubt with discerning minds, have sat for the last time. A British General had the hardihood to declare, that if a judgment against the Queen should be enforced, it should be done over his body; and her Majesty herself, to my positive knowledge, ordered written thanks to be given to a person, who informed her, that in certain mining districts there were 75,000 men ready, at a moment's notice, to lay down their lives in her cause. Indeed, the time was pregnant with alarming danger: those, who thought otherwise, merely slept!

In all communities, there are, some pre-eminently valiant in tone and conversation. They ridicule all danger, till it comes near them; and then they are the first to run

away ; and when they run, it is impossible to rally them.

* * * *

“ When Satan took Christ to the mountain,” says Owen Feltham, “ he shewed Him all the kingdoms, and the glory of them ; but said nothing of the troubles, the dangers, the cares, the fears, the vexations, and the vigilancies, which are, as it were, the thorn and mantlings wherewith a crown is lined.” There is not a more beautiful dissertation, in the whole range of Greek literature, than that of Zenophon, on the condition of Royalty. It is, in fact, more beautiful than any thing either in Plato or Maximus Tyrius ; and in no age can it be more worthy of strict attention than the present.

Some expect little more from a Monarch than thin, airy, unsubstantial pageants ; feasts, balls, and exhibitions ; in their puerile admiration of which, they would fain be kings themselves—mere images of shades and shadows !—Plutarch, in his Life of Themistocles, relates, that when Demaratus desired of Artaxerxes, that he might be per-

mitted to go in procession through Sardis, with a diadem on his head, one of the king's cousins whispered in his ear, " the diadem, my good friend, does not carry brains along with it to cover; nor would you be Jupiter, were you even to take hold of his thunder."

A true king is like a statue, personifying Power, Glory, and Virtue, standing on a pyramid. His smiles confer honour; his familiarities, pleasure; his protection, power; and his generosity, wealth, influence, and rank. And yet Seleucus declared, that no man, who knew the weight of a sceptre before he attempted to raise it, would stoop two inches to pick it up. Montaigne, however, in the insolence of philosophy, presumed to assert, that there was little more trouble in governing a kingdom than in ruling a house; and it must be confessed, that in most houses, as in most kingdoms, there is trouble enough.

The station of a monarch abounds in honours, trusts, luxuries, and duties; but monarchs themselves acquire melancholy experiences of human infirmity. What an abject conception, too, are they fated to

have of human nature! Their duty consists in encouraging virtue, learning, and knowledge; advancing happiness; and causing the human mind to expand and aspire. But, sensible of these duties, their practice is often that of compulsion, from the obstacles, perpetually thrown in their way; the baseness of the instruments they seem often constrained to employ; the ignorance of facts, which to them only are secrets; the deceits, daily practised upon their judgments; and the libels and calumnies which, every moment, are vented against them by titled, as well as untitled ignorance, insolence, misconception and malevolence.

Revera que metus hominum, curæque sequaces,
Nec metuunt sonitus armorum, nec fera tela,
Audacterque inter Reges, rerumque potentes
Versantur, neque fulgorem reverentur ab auro.

LUCRETIVS.

As to friends,—it is a great mistake to suppose they have none. They have many:—even a multitude, when compared with other men; and the glory of being a tried

friend to an unfortunate monarch will always* preserve him from being entirely forsaken, even in the extremity of distress.

But it is not thus with Consort-Queens, *accused of incontinence*, found guilty, and divested of wealth.—They may beg their bread from door to door; and, as it is said of Jane Shore, die of starvation in the public streets.

The Queen, at this time, laboured under a very curious, and to me, unaccountable species of delusion. She fancied herself, in reality, neither a wife nor a Queen. She believed his present Majesty to have been

* Yet not always. "I am sensible," said Louis XVI. to a person in whom he placed confidence, "that the Queen cannot, without inconvenience, keep the wives of emigrants about her; and I have already spoken to her on that subject: but neither can it be expected, that she will compose her society of Mesdames Petion, Condorcet, or others of that class. As for my own part, the greatest number of my ancient household, whose service was the most agreeable to me, have abandoned me, and amongst those who remain, there are some who are the torment of my life."

actually married to Mrs. Fitzherbert ; and she as fully believed, that his late Majesty, George the Third, was married to Miss Hannah Lightfoot,—the beautiful Quakeress,—previous to his marriage with Queen Charlotte ; that a ceremony of marriage was a second time solemnized at Kew (under the colour of an evening's entertainment) after the death of Miss Lightfoot ; and as that lady did not die till after the births of the present king and his Royal Highness the Duke of York, her Majesty really considered the present Duke of Clarence the true heir to the throne.

Her Majesty thought, also, that the knowledge of this circumstance by the Ministers was the true cause of George the Fourth's retaining the Tory Administration, when he came into power.

How the Queen came seriously to entertain such romantic suppositions as these, it is not for me to know. It may be, perhaps, regarded as a melancholy proof of the principles and abilities of some persons, surrounding Royal Personages ; but, that she did entertain them, I know well ; and let

any of her Majesty's friends contradict me, if they can. If they do, and they require me to mention my Author, I will do so; if called upon in a proper manner and, in a proper place.

Indeed, I was myself requested to call upon Mrs. Hancock, to make enquiries relative to what she might think on the subject; as she had the pleasure of being intimate with Miss Lightfoot. I was also requested to see the person, who styles herself (whether justly or unjustly signifies little to the subject) Princess of Cumberland, to know if any of her real or presumed documents contained reference to that subject.

Having no knowledge of Mrs. Hancock, who, I understand, is a highly respectable lady, I could not presume to take so great a liberty, as to call upon her on a subject so extraordinary. But knowing a friend, who was intimately acquainted with the latter, I requested him to ask a question, which I felt I could have no right to ask myself. The answer was, "that all her documents were in her own possession." This reply I

sent to the personage I have so often alluded to ; and I also transmitted the following intelligence, with which Sir William——was so obliging as to favour me:—viz. That Miss Hannah Lightfoot, when young, lived with her father and mother, who, at the time of Prince George's residence at Leicester House, kept a linen-draper's shop at the corner of St. James's Market.

When the Prince went to St. James's, the coach always passed that way ; and seeing the young lady at the window, occasionally, he became enamoured of her, and employed Miss Chudleigh, afterwards Duchess of Kingston, to concert an interview. From this time, frequent meetings were secured at the house of a Mr. Perrhyn, of Knightsbridge, who was, I believe, Miss Lightfoot's uncle.

The Court is said to have taken alarm at these circumstances ; and Miss Chudleigh, seeing the danger likely to ensue, privately offered to become a medium of getting the young lady married. With this view, she got acquainted with a person, who was a friend of the Lightfoot family, named

Axford, and who lived at that time on Ludgate-hill. This person consented to pay his addresses to Miss Lightfoot, and even nominally to marry her, upon the assurance of receiving with her a considerable dower.

Miss Lightfoot is supposed to have given into the plan ; for she was married at Keith's chapel in 1754, though the marriage was never consummated ; for Miss Chudleigh, who had contrived the match (probably with the sanction of all parties) took her into a coach, as she came out of the church door, and the husband pocketed the dower, but never saw his wife afterwards. The mother, indeed, heard from the daughter once or twice before she died ; and Axford made enquiries after her at Weymouth, Windsor, and Kew ; and once is even said to have presented a petition to the king on his knees, as his Majesty was riding, one day, in St. James's park ; but no certain account of her was ever known from the period of her marriage-day.

She was taken, it is supposed, under the protection of Prince George, under an

assumed name, and is said to have had a daughter, subsequently married to a gentleman of the name of Dalton, or Dalston, who afterwards received an appointment from the East-India Company in Bengal, whither he went, and where he died, leaving three daughters.

Mr. Axford, in the mean time, not hearing any thing of his wife, and probably considering his marriage not strictly binding, since it had never been consummated, married another lady, named Bartlett, then living at Keevil, in North-Wiltshire; and, after the expiration of fifty-eight years, died without ever being able to obtain any intelligence of his first bride.

Three things are very remarkable in the history of this lady, viz. that she was never personally known to the public; that her residence, while alive, was never publicly known; and that so strict a secrecy was observed, at her death, that, it is no where upon known record; though it has been said, that she died of grief in the parish of Saint James, and was buried, under a feigned name, in the parish of Islington, where

probably she may rest without a stone, to tell the history either of her life, death, guilt, innocence, splendour, or misfortune.

* * * * *

Upon receiving this intelligence, I have some reason to believe, her Majesty awaked from her delusion.—If there were some persons always ready to animate the King against the Queen, there were not wanting others to animate the Queen against the King; and that, too, at a very early period of their marriage. Her Majesty, unlike other royal personages, would listen to the truth with a tolerable share of patience; but, if she had made up her mind to endeavour to walk over Westminster-bridge upon her head, I believe not all the friends in the world could have stopped her from attempting it.

“ Yet was she richer than her base accusers.”

SHAKSPEARE.

A short time previous to this, I accidentally saw a copy of Madam Roland's Appeal to Impartial Posterity, belonging to her Majesty; and I mention it in order to cite

a passage, which the Queen had underscored with three separate lines, in red pencil.

" NOT BEING ABLE TO ANNIHILATE HIS-
" TORY, THEY WISH TO BRING ITS MATE-
" RIALS INTO DISCREDIT.—OH! MY GOD!
" IF NOTHING WERE TO REMAIN BUT THEIR
" CALUMNIES AND THEIR CONDUCT, THE
" ATROCITY OF THEIR FALSEHOODS
" WOULD, NEVERTHELESS, APPEAR. FOR
" A FEW YEARS TRUTH MAY BE REDUCED
" TO SILENCE; BUT IT CANNOT BE EXTIN-
" GUISHED.—THE VERY EFFORTS, MADE TO
" ANNIHILATE IT, OPERATE A CONTRARY
" WAY, AND SERVE TO GIVE EVIDENCE
" OF ITS EXISTENCE."

At another time, I saw a copy of Burns' Poems. The "Twa Dogs" was expressively marked; and the following passage,

so susceptible of application, was scored in the following manner :—

Oppress'd with grief, oppress'd with care,
A burden more than I can bear ;
I sit me down and sigh !

Oh life ! thou art a galling load,
Along a rough and rugged road,
To wretches such as I.

|| Dim backward as I cast my view,
What sickening scenes appear !
What sorrows yet may pierce me through,
Too justly I may fear.—

Still caring, despairing,
Must be my bitter doom ;
My woes here shall close ne'er,
But with the silent tomb.

The late Princess Charlotte used, occasionally, to make notes in the margin of her books. In a History of England, belonging to her Royal Highness, the author had left the cause of a bishop's translation to the See of London in doubt. On the margin is written, "Doubt? no doubt at all.—By *booing* to be sure."

The following passages, too, were marked with strong emphasis and notation.—"I

think," said Charles the First, in one of his speeches to Parliament, " I think it
 " more honour for a king to be invaded,
 " and almost destroyed by a foreign enemy,
 " than to be despised by his own subjects."

* * * *

" The fame of kings is encreased by a
 " successful war; but it is much more so
 " by a love of justice, and a regard for the
 " comforts and consequent happiness of his
 " subjects."

* * * *

" Does a prince want to know the great
 " art of ruling? let him call honour and
 " virtue around his person; let him invite
 " personal merit. He may even sometimes
 " cast an eye on talents and abilities. Let
 " him not be afraid of those rivals, who are
 " called men of merit. He is their equal,
 " as soon as he loves them. Let him guard
 " the hearts of his subjects, without bringing
 " their minds to subjection; let him render
 " himself popular;—he ought to be pleased
 " with the affection of the lowest of his sub-
 " jects;—for they too are men."*

The following sentiments, written by Stanislaus, King of Poland, and adopted by Louis XVIth, were noted by her Royal Highness in a similar manner.

“ That a wise king, who knows his duties,
 “ which he loves and practises, who, by his
 “ goodness and humanity, calls forth that
 “ homage, which his dignity would give him
 “ no right to exact ; that a king, the friend
 “ of men, and the man of his subjects, should
 “ not taste, or be capable of tasting, pure
 “ and solid happiness, may appear surpris-
 “ ing, and yet it is true.—He sees none
 “ around him but false and interested per-
 “ sons, whom his virtues displease even at
 “ the very instant when they affect most
 “ to applaud them ;—he meets only with
 “ hearts servile in their wants, insolent and
 “ haughty when in favour, ungrateful when
 “ they have no longer any thing to expect.
 “ Men, in short, who, always fluctuating
 “ between passion and interest, and always
 “ clashing, never unite but for the purpose of
 “ perverting his sentiments, weakening his
 “ power, and who, under the appearance of
 “ submission, gain his confidence, which
 “ they betray.” * * * *

The Coronation had been postponed for some time. At length it took place. Her Majesty's reception is well known ;—but the secret history of that cruel, undignified, and unfortunate day, not equally so.

Two evenings previous to that event, I was sitting with one of her Majesty's private friends, when the servant brought in a note, which that friend read with the greatest vivacity. It contained an assurance, that the King had consented to her Majesty's being received at the banquet ; and a map was produced, exhibiting a seat, in which the Queen and her attendants were to sit.

Whether this was an unworthy stratagem upon her Majesty or not, I do not presume to know. But her Majesty's impression, I am told, was this—" That the Earl of Liverpool had advised the King to permit her to be received, in order to prevent ill consequences ; for that in case any riot should take place, during the procession, his Majesty *might have been smothered in the crowd* ; that the King acceded to the propriety of Lord Liverpool's advice in the first instance ; but that the Earl of Lauder-

dale subsequently prevailed upon him to resume his former resolution in the second."

This was her Majesty's impression soon after the circumstance took place; and her Majesty also believed, whatever may have been said to the contrary, that this was "the true reason why the Earl of Liverpool was not present at the Coronation." Her Majesty also as firmly believed, that the advice, supposed to have been given on that occasion, was the true cause of the Earl of Lauderdale's being created an *extra-knight* of the Thistle. Let the circumstances be as they may, the coincidence was certainly remarkable.—For the coronation took place on the 19th of July; and Lord Lauderdale's honours were gazetted on the 24th of the same month.

I say all this, my Lord Duke, as you may perceive, not authoritatively;—because your Grace, no doubt, knows its correctness or incorrectness much better than myself. But this I know, viz. that I saw the map, to which I have alluded; and this I believe, that when the Queen went to Westminster, she fully expected to be received; and that

such expectation was the cause of her Majesty's walking in so undignified a manner from one door to another. For had the Queen not been animated with this expectation, she would not have alighted from her coach :—when she did alight, and heard that she was not permitted to enter, she concluded that she had come to a wrong entrance, and, therefore, that she had only to go to another. It is curious, that the person who answered her Majesty and Lord Hood at the door of Westminster Hall, had *no orders to refuse her* : he acted, I am told, entirely on *his own responsibility*. And here I shall relate a curious little circumstance, indicative of the little passions by which ladies of fashion are not unfrequently actuated.

As her Majesty, Lord and Lady Hood, and Lady Anne Hamilton, were proceeding on foot to the door, a lady, who stood near the spot, which the Queen passed in her way thither, was observed to nod and smile in a very friendly manner to one of the above-mentioned ladies. Her Majesty was expected to be received ; and her triumph,

therefore, was esteemed complete. When the Queen was refused admittance, however, the scene instantly changed: for the same lady, just at the moment in which the Queen repassed in her way to her carriage, burst into a loud "HORSE-LAUGH," in her Majesty's face! The Queen passed on in silent dignity; but the extreme vulgarity of such conduct in a person, presuming to be a woman of fashion, could not but afflict the sensibility of her Majesty; and the more so, since it proceeded from a late Judge's daughter.

Leaving this unworthy conduct to the indignation of all those who can feel, as Christians ought to feel, for the wounded feelings of an insulted Queen, I cannot refrain from expressing my belief, that it was a fortunate circumstance that her Majesty did not gain admittance on that memorable day; for I have more than two solid reasons, which I do not choose to explain at this moment, for thinking, that her Majesty would have been taken from the Hall in a state, which no one could have contemplated without feelings of unutterable sympathy.

Some few days after this event, when I enquired the cause of all the unfortunate circumstances that had occurred, two exclamations ensued.—“ We were betrayed !” “ Her Majesty has dissipated all her friends !”

Upon which I observed, that the ground might be recovered ;—if not in the whole, at least in part.

One of the Queen’s friends had advised her Majesty not to accept the provision voted by the Parliament ; others, however, advised entirely to the contrary ;—since, without it, she would not have been able to go on for a single month.

This vacillating conduct having occasioned some disgust, and the witnesses having been permitted to quit the kingdom without an effort to bring any one of them to justice, the Queen felt, and some of her personal friends, too, that her cause had sustained considerable injury :—yet, they refrained from attempting any explanation with the public, upon the supposition, that none would be satisfactorily received.

This being reported to me, I undertook to send a paper, to be incorporated into one

of the Answers to the Addresses, as an effectual argument in defence of the acceptance. As to the permitted retreat of the witnesses, a short sentence of her Majesty herself I deemed sufficient:—" *That as she had not been permitted to catch the spiders, she would not stoop to catch the flies.*"

The "APOLOGY" was immediately executed; but her Majesty's illness and death prevented its publication. The following passage having expressed the Queen's sentiments very closely, I thought proper to preserve it.

" In conclusion, I leave a legacy of advice to future Queens of foreign birth, even though they should be, as I am, a member of the Royal Family. Let them conciliate the Nobility more than I have been disposed to do, by conforming to their hours, their habits, their prejudices, and to their honourable sense of strict decorum in small matters. I have been too independent in this particular. I have been too artless and unguarded. In spite of experience, I have dared injury too much; and, believing innocence to be in-

“vincible, I have attended too little to circumstances of etiquette; because I felt that it robs life of some of its most endearing charms; and, not unfrequently, converts it into a state of intolerable bondage.”

Previous to this, I wished some of her Majesty’s friends to write “an impartial appeal to posterity.”

Having suggested it, I was solicited to write it: but this, for reasons not material to explain, I thought proper to decline. Its purposed execution was, however, thus announced to me.

“I am very much obliged to you for your hints; and shall be happy to see you, whenever any thing else occurs.

“Since you did not wish to execute your suggestions yourself, I hope they will be done according to your satisfaction.”

* * * *

The death of her Majesty put an end to the unfortunate question. She died fatally for the peace of her enemies,—but happily for the people, and gloriously for herself.—For her death was marked with a grandeur and a magnificence of composure,

the parallel of which is not to be met with in the entire circle of modern history.

* * * *

On July 30, 1822, Dr. Lushington stated, in the House of Commons, that her Majesty's foreign property amounted to £35,000:—but that it had come to his knowledge, that, since her Majesty's departure from Italy, the greater portion of this property, capable of being moved, had been taken away. That, on the night of the day on which the queen died, orders were sent to Italy, to protect the property of her Majesty from the rapacity of persons there; and that the Marquis of Antaldi, who, by the will of her Majesty, had been appointed to protect her Italian property, had abandoned his duty.

Perhaps I can throw some light upon this subject.

A short time after the death of her Majesty, I proposed to the personage, I have so often alluded to, to go over to the Baron Bergami, in order to induce him to come forward with an affidavit, now that her Majesty was dead; and, in the face of

heaven, to declare, that, as far as he was concerned, her late Majesty had been shamefully traduced. If I could persuade the Baron to do this, I proposed to get the affidavit inserted in the Milan Gazette, the Hamburgh Correspondenten, the Journal de Paris, the Constitutionnel, and the Journal des Debats.

To this proposition, I had the following answer :—

“ I delayed answering your letter sooner, till I should ascertain the truth, or falsehood, of Bergami's death ; and I find he is alive, but has been long and is still very ill. I suggested your idea to one of her Majesty's friends, who is returning to Italy, and who promised to see Bergami upon it. He admitted the advantage of it, if the Baron could be persuaded to accede. But, from his knowledge of his character, he much doubted whether any one would be able to persuade him : but he promised to do his best. I know, if any one has any influence with Bergami, he has. Therefore, it remains only for me to thank you for your truly kind and generous offer.”

The person, alluded to in this letter, was, I believe, (I do not state it as a fact,) the MARQUIS ANTALDI. Whether the Marquis did as he was requested, I know not :

but it is curious, that, not long after, he thought proper to resign the trust, with which her Majesty, by will, had invested him. This resignation was thus stated, in a letter from Rome.

“ The Marquis Antaldo Antaldi, and the Advocate Tommaso Felici, appeared, on the 31st of October, before the Chancery of the Civil Tribunal of the First Instance, at Pesaro, there to make a declaration, from which it results, that, by an act of the 8th of August last, dated at London, they have been named by the deceased Caroline, Queen of England, her trustees, (*heritiers fiduciares*) for all the property which she possessed in Italy; with the obligation to apply it in the manner which she should herself direct, by any act whatever signed by her hand.

“ That the death of Queen Caroline having taken place on the th of the same month, her will has been executed, for the benefit of those who had a right to it.

“ That, having learnt, that, by a separate act, drawn up, and signed, in the presence of W. Fox, and of — Hattebs, Notaries of London, who have preserved the minute of it, the said deceased Queen of England has determined how the above-mentioned property is to be applied, paid, and employed; and the said Sieurs, Marquis Antaldo Antaldi, and the Advocate Tommaso Felici, not seeing good to retain the quality given to them of trustees, or any other quality depending on the same, they do, by this present declaration, re-

nounce the quality, herein above specified, urgently demanding, that this declaration be received, and brought to the knowledge of the public by all possible means, and even by insertion in the foreign journals, to serve as a guide to all those, who may have any title, or claim, to the property left by the deceased Queen."

The letter, above quoted, also contained the following passage:—

"As you have always shewn yourself such a warm and disinterested friend of her late Majesty, I must mention a subject, which annoys me much. A gentleman wrote to me, to send him any private letters I might have of her Majesty; and a long string of questions for me to answer; to enrich his Life of her Majesty, which is coming out in a month's time. Of course, I refused; seeing, at once, that so hasty a publication was more likely to be advantageous to the bookseller than to her Majesty. * * * I write to you, as a literary man, to make it known, as widely as you can, that the highest authorities have refused their names, or sanction, or to contribute in any way; and already I know the following have refused:—Lord and Lady Hood, the Honourable Mrs. Damer, Lady Percival, Count Vassali, Captain Hess, and your humble servant."

This letter was directed to me in the country. Upon my return to London, I

called, and undertook to do as I was requested. The fact was, the Life alluded to was expected to contain a subject, relative to the RETALIATION—a subject to which few of the Queen's friends were anxious to refer.

Her Majesty, however, had been of a different opinion. Mr. Brougham's declaration in the House of Commons, therefore, startled her Majesty very much. She had given no authority for such a declaration. It was evident, therefore, that Mr. Brougham had either made the declaration upon his own responsibility, or that he had misconceived the Queen's meaning. However this may be, Mr. Denman, the next day, removed the impression, made upon the House of Lords, the day before, by Mr. Brougham, as the Journals of the House testify.

* * * *

There can be no doubt, that the Whigs expected, at this period, to take the Cabinet by storm. The Tories seek protection from the people through the Crown:—the Whigs from the Crown, through the medium of the people. The love of country is but too

often a mere masquerade; but the confidence of the people, as Lord Chesterfield said in respect to Pulteney, when once great and once lost, is never regained. Take ambition and vanity away, says Seneca, and you will have neither patriots nor heroes. This, if not entirely true, is certainly so in respect to men, who play their parts as if they merely meant to do so for the benefit of those that love to look on and wonder at human folly. The Whigs have sunk, to rise no more! They ruined themselves by the senseless extravagance of their foreign politics. "The best things have been overthrown," says Hooker, in his Ecclesiastical Polity, "not so much by puissance and might of adversaries, as through defect of council in those that should have upheld and defended the same." A curious anomaly is presented, when the advocates of liberty in one country bow both knees to the god of a tyranny in another. The Whigs have sunk—to rise no more! "It is as easy for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, as it is for

a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven."

Both parties had recriminated in a very curious manner. Indeed, the friends and enemies of her Majesty sometimes assaulted each other in a manner that often reminded me of the contest, which, the Mahometans believe, will occur on the day of judgment between the Body and the Soul.

"*Soul.* O Lord, my body I received from thee; for thou createdst me without a hand to lay hold of, a foot to walk with, an eye to see with, or an understanding to apprehend with, till I came and entered into this Body; therefore punish it eternally; but deliver me."

"*Body.* O Lord, thou createdst me like a stock of wood, having neither hand that I could lay hold of, nor foot that I could walk with, till this Soul, like a ray of light, entered into my body; and my tongue began to speak, my eye to see, and my foot to walk; therefore punish it eternally, but deliver me."

It was not unamusing, also, to hear some

of the first, second, third, and even fourth-rate orders in society, accuse all her Majesty's well-wishers of being the very dross and dregs of the earth! It was said and written so often, that many worthy persons at last absolutely believed it; and felt astonished, when they discovered, that her Majesty could number among her well-wishers some of the best, wisest, and most discriminating members of the community. "No opinion," says Professor Stuart, "can be more groundless, than that a captious and disputatious temper is a mark of acuteness. On the contrary, a sound and manly understanding is, in no instance, more strongly displayed, than in a quick perception of important truths, when imperfectly stated, and blended with error."

Many of her Majesty's presumed friends held with the hare in one house, and ran with the hounds in another. Some of these even attended public meetings, in the quality of friends; and then wrote, as enemies, in the public journals. Others inveighed against her in public; and wrote, spoke,

and acted for her cause, in private. And one of her judges, to my positive knowledge, spoke admirably for her in Parliament; and yet privately declared, in more places than one, that her Majesty was the greatest strumpet that ever * * * *

Doubtless the pleasure is as great
Of being cheated, as to cheat;
As lookers-on feel most delight,
That least perceive a juggler's sleight;
And still, the less they understand,
The more th' admire his sleight of hand.

BUTLER.

It really was the most amusing occupation in the world, to see certain men, women, and parties—how they met, crossed, and jostled each other!—sometimes smiling in their sleeves,—and, at other times, meeting each other with countenances almost as ferocious as lions and tigers.

Some of the Queen's enemies, and some, no doubt, of her friends, belonged to that order of blockheads, who, as Napoleon said of * * *, concur in all sorts of mischief:—others—for we are all extremely ingenious

and complaisant in giving to others the same vices, that distinguish ourselves—

Were the self-same creatures, that themselves condemned.

BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER.

Among these, too, was nearly the whole race of time-servers—male and female. A time-server is one, who is ever in the habit of holding the candle to the devil. A time-server will forsake his friend, his country, and his creed, not only for a great ambition, but a little one. Time-servers may, in all states, be numbered, not only by tens, but by thousands. A time-server, in the midst of his bows, smiles, and apostacies, thinks all men fools, who do not select the same golden road of being a villain, that he is travelling himself. Of all descriptions of men, in civil society, the most afflicting to her Majesty's imagination was a time-server.

Some men of this description have sufficient skill to preserve a name in the midst of a long series of undermining actions :—

decent in all things—heartless in most—generous in nothing—with liberal sentiment and action only for exhibition. But they are lost—

“ Unless the risen sun do shine upon them.”

How many, as the Greek proverb goes, act the fox without doors, and the lion within; and so operative is association, that I question, whether even a wise man can live in the society of time-servers, but that, at the end of six months, he will turn time-server himself. The company of a time-server is, indeed, more dangerous to an ingenuous mind, than that of a vagabond, or a thief; because his manners are agreeable, and his arguments plausible and seductive.

While her Majesty was abroad, her friends were extremely negligent at home. They permitted insidious paragraphs to appear in the journals, day after day, month after month, and even year after year, without notice, contradiction, or explanation; so that the public mind was so impregnated

with falsehood and insinuation, that, had not the Queen returned to this country, as she did, her name would have been associated with ignominy—

“ To the last syllable of recorded time.”

A member of the House of Commons, having one day mentioned the cruelty and impropriety of this neglect, to one, whom he thought would take the hint, and act accordingly, he was answered by a significant shrug of the shoulders, and a declaration, that it did not lie in his department. “ It is strange,” wrote the Duke du Maine to Madame de Maintenon, “ that so many years, spent at Court, should not yet have taught you to throw the blame on persons who are absent.”

Many letters, written to her late Majesty, were private and confidential ; and yet they were, sometimes, bandied about in a manner, not strictly accordant, as I think, with propriety.

One of these, with another from Lady A—— H——, were exhibited in a party, by one of the Maxwell family ; and I took

such disgust at it, that, some short time after, when I was invited to an evening party, hearing that the same lady was to be there, I imprudently refused the invitation, with some degree of asperity. I even ventured to say, I would not enter into a room where she was. By this, I affronted the party who invited me, and the lady whom I was invited to meet; and such a scene of misrepresentation and low intrigue followed, as is scarcely credible!—a circumstance, not very fortunate; for it led to a very great inconvenience and loss. I mention this, in order to guard other persons against indulging an expression of too rigid an idea of propriety, when ladies of rank and fashion are in any way concerned.

Her Majesty thought, at one time, that she was surrounded by spies; and that was the cause she chose to take foreign persons into her service;—imagining, that personages at home would not venture to tamper with the subjects of another state, as they might be suspected of doing with those, who had relations and connections in England. For my own part, I do not believe that her

Majesty had any great reason to fear the employment of any instruments of that kind. Nor do I believe, that the British Government, at any time, has employed spies half so often, in their political relations, as they have been accused of doing. They are bound to receive information;—but, paying for intelligence, and employing of spies, are two different things.

On the day of the great insult of a certain part of the populace to his Majesty, on his way to the House of Lords, I was standing on one of the Benches, not far from the Palace, in St. James's Park, when I saw a tall man, of a very striking physiognomy, take two or three stones out of his waistcoat pocket, and throw them from amid the crowd, with great violence, against the window of his Majesty's coach. A few days afterwards, as I was walking down Holborn Hill, I met a countenance, that instantly recalled to my recollection the face of the man, I had seen acting with so much violence in the Park. I immediately turned, and followed him home. I mentioned this circumstance to a gentleman, a few days afterwards;

when he inquired, why I had not informed his Majesty's Government? I said the danger was over: I was loth to act the part of an informer—more particularly as the Government had offered a reward of a thousand pounds.

Two days after this, I received a polite note from the Under-Secretary of State, requesting me to attend at the Office of the Home Department, the next day, at three o'clock. How the fact came to be communicated to the Government, I do not expressly know; but, upon receiving the information, I repaired to the shop of the person alluded to, a cheesemonger; and, under pretence of buying a cheese, I found full leisure to study his countenance with great attention. "Pray," said I, "which is my best way into the Park?" "Which Park?" said he. "St. James's."—"Through Spring Gardens, sir."—"What, past the pastry-cook's, in Spring Gardens Passage?" "Faith!" said he, "I do not know whether there is a pastry-cook's shop there or not; for I have not been in St. James's Park for six or seven months."—"This

cannot be the man," thought I; and yet his countenance appeared a direct facsimile.

On the next day, I made the best of my way to the Home Department. The Under-Secretary of State was ready to receive me; and I gave him an account of the whole affair, not without expressing great doubt as to the identity of the man. "I think you may determine that," said the Under-Secretary, "without much difficulty. The person you saw, among the thousands that were there, must have been a very tall man; otherwise, you would not so clearly have distinguished him."—It is very true," returned I: "and that remark fully persuades me, that the man of the shop is not the man of the Park; for the one must have been tall, and the other is certainly short."

From the whole tenor of my conversation with the Under-Secretary, at this interview, I found that the Government was, by no means, so eager to find grounds for accusation, as the public had been taught to believe.

The marriage of the Princess with Prince Leopold, was, I believe, a subject of great satisfaction to her Majesty ;—and the more so, since she could never have anticipated any opposition from his Royal Highness, to her maintaining a strict intimacy with her daughter, in the event of his present Majesty's decease.

When Mary, the bigot, was married to Philip of Spain, a law passed the two houses of Parliament, that Mary, “ as the only Queen of England, should solely, and as a sole Queen, enjoy the crown of sovereignty of her realms, with all the pre-eminence, dignities, and rights thereto belonging, in as large and ample a manner after her marriage as before, without any title, or claim, accruing to the Prince of Spain, either as tenant by courtesy of the realm, or by any other means.”*

* Charles V. sent over 400,000 crowns, to be distributed among the Members of Parliament, in bribes and pensions, to induce them to confirm a marriage between Mary and his son, Philip.—This was the first instance, in which public bribery was exercised in England by a foreign power.

This law, had Elizabeth married, would have been acknowledged equally effective. It was so in the instance of Queen Anne; and would have been equally so in that of Mary the Second, had not her consort, William the Third, threatened to return to Holland, and leave the kingdom to the vengeance, or the mercy, of the infuriated James.

With such a law in operation, little danger can arise from the selection of a consort for a British Queen, provided, as in the instance of Prince Leopold, the object selected has an agreeable exterior, gentlemanly manners, rigid pecuniary prudence, and a mind not too much expanded for a secondary station.

In selecting a Prince of illustrious birth, but of no political influence, his Majesty acted the part not only of an indulgent father, but of a monarch, worthy of reigning over a free people. It was, in fact, telling all the world in general, and the princes of Europe in particular, that his Majesty and his people, united in the firm bonds of

affection, required no alliance to strengthen their influence, or to confirm their power.

A dower, my Lord !—disgrace not so our King,
 That he should be so abject, base, and poor,
 To choose for wealth, and not for perfect love.
 Henry is able to enrich his Queen,
 And not to seek a Queen to make him rich.

1st Henry VI. Act v. Scene 5.

This marriage, I say, was, I believe, highly agreeable to her Majesty, not only as it bore upon her own personal interests, but as it gave rich promises of permanent happiness to her daughter;—not in the splendid vanities and vacuities of a court, but in the tranquil and sacred bosom of domestic love.

Her Majesty was pleased and displeased with Mr. Canning, at the same time. She accepted his compliments; but she thought that his words ought to have been followed by some substantial deed.—Her sentiments toward the first Lord of the Treasury, the Speaker of the House of Lords, and many others of her former friends, it would not be so difficult to state, as it would be to say the actual motives; beside those of public

duty, by which those personages were governed.

That they believed her Majesty guilty, there can be no reasonable doubt; but that they should * * *.—It has been remarked, that when men turn apostates, they never cease to hope for the utter extinguishment of the men, the party, or the religion, they have abandoned. Lord Liverpool, and Lord Eldon, have, I believe, never changed their religion or their party; but it was hard for her Majesty, that she should fall by the same hands, which she had assisted to uplift.—

That eagle's fate and mine, are one,
Who, on the shaft that made him die,
Espied a feather of his own,
With which he used to soar so high,

WALLER.

Her Majesty regarded the late Marquis of Londonderry with a mysterious species of interest:—She loathed him! That the perplexities of office, and his intellectual labours, sate heavy upon the Marquis, and caused great restlessness of demeanour, is certain. Hence proceeded a low, nervous fever, which impaired his physical and men-

tal powers; but in a manner so progressive, that it was scarcely visible even to his most intimate friends, till within a very short period of his death.

Some have ventured to assert, that the Marquis was not only a suicide, but an atheist. He was neither! No one is a suicide, who commits an act of self-destruction while in a state of derangement. As to atheism, I can only say, that I have often seen him at a village church, reading out of the same book with Lady Londonderry with a serious and apparently unaffected feeling of devotion. I have heard, too, from a gentleman, who knew him well, many of his opinions, relative to a future state, and the dispensations of Providence; by which I am assured, that if not a Christian, in the generally applied sense of the word, he was, at least, a Christian Deist.

I was walking, one beautifully serene night, through St. James's-square, when I observed several persons, looking through a four-feet telescope:—the charge for doing this was a penny. Jupiter and the Medicean stars, and Saturn with his satellites and luminous ring, were the objects of cu-

riosity. I was invited to the view. While I was paying for this luxury, a gentleman passed by—stopped; returned; and looked through the telescope. It was the Marquis of Londonderry. Having surveyed these, the grandest objects of our solar system, for some time, the owner, not knowing the Marquis, became impatient: upon which his Lordship drew back, and giving the man half-a-crown, exclaimed in a subdued voice, as he walked away, “It is glorious and magnificent indeed!”

The morbid melancholy with which he was afflicted, the famine, and many other occurrences of a dreadful nature in Ireland, served materially to feed. There were times, no doubt, when his Lordship, witnessing the fatal manner in which some of his measures operated in that country, might feel disposed to question his own motives; and seeing all things through the medium of a diseased imagination, the whole might induce a remorse, arising from a real or an imaginary consciousness, that, in legislating for Ireland, he had paid less attention to her interests, than to his own.

That he was satisfied with his conduct in Ireland, no man, I believe, will now venture to assert. In former times, careless of popularity, public odium affected him little : he would have despised himself, if he could have permitted it, for one moment, to disturb his repose. Of late years, however, the mere allusion to former times, on the part of his adversaries, " would call the blood into his cheeks," and induce him to assume a manner, strikingly at variance with his generally calm and conciliating deportment. But he is dead ; and though most men were afflicted at the manner of his death, few, I suppose, feel any wish to restore him to life. His name will be often mentioned in private ; it will adorn or disgrace the annals of our country ; but it will never be often alluded to in Parliament. No statesman will dare to quote him as an authority ; nor will any legislator revert to him for precedents. And though, while he lived some appeared almost to think him the Atlas, on which the globe rested, the sun and moon still rise and set, the rain falls, and the tides still continue to ebb and flow.

He was a man, pre-eminently elegant in person and manners; and often have I walked behind him, merely for the pleasure of observing how dignified was his carriage, how stately he noticed those, he knew on the pavement, and how gracefully he bowed to those in coaches and on horseback. His countenance appeared marked with deep thought; and his whole deportment was at once graceful and dignified, and strikingly characteristic of a noble simplicity.

The Marquis had great energy of character, but no great depth or width of knowledge; little or no imagination; a contempt for patriotic ardour; and little or no respect for the opinions of mankind in general. That men are never publicly discontented, so as to rise into tumult and rebellion, but upon some great practical grievance, is a truth, of which, at no time of his life, did his Lordship appear in the smallest degree sensible; although it has been proved by the illustrations of Tacitus, Machiavel, Guiccardini, Bacon, and Montesquieu, as well as by the experience of all ages. Nor was he, apparently, sen-

sible, that a government, maintained by force, has less stability than one, established on the basis of affection. Affection, indeed, in political relations, is the parent of stability; and it is astonishing, that his Lordship should seem to be so entirely ignorant of the truism.

Et errat longè, meâ quidem sententiâ,
 Qui imperium credat gravius esse aut stabilius,
 Vi quod fit, quàm iliud quod amicitia adjungitur.

The Marquis, on some occasions, seems to have detested the very name of liberty. Its name has been some time going out of fashion; and no wonder! Yet no one need be ashamed of a cause, rendered pre-eminently sacred by the opinions of men so illustrious as Alfred, Milton, Locke, Clarke, Newton, Chatham, Akenside, and Jones; and that, too, not in the enthusiastic season of their youth, nor in the second infancy of age, but in the vigour and marrow of manhood.

“ Croi-moi, la liberté, que tout mortel adore,
 Que je veux leur oter, mais que j'admire encore,
 Donne a l'homme une courage, inspire une grandeur,
 Qu'il n'eût jamais trouves dans les fond de son cœur.”

History, and every enlightened man's experience indicate, how truly these sentiments accord with the spirit of genuine philosophy.

The Marquis occasionally argued on the popular side of a question ; but if we take a review of the debates in parliament, we shall find that, in a multitude of instances, he seems to have been the mere partisan and apologist of men, wise enough to consider, that the people's pleasure is a treason :—men who, to preserve unbroken and entire their estates, places, influence, and commissions, would sacrifice the popular part of the Constitution, not only any month in the year, but any day of the week :—men, with whom the rich and titled are every thing ; the people and the poor, nothing.

The death of the Marquis created a great sensation, both at home and abroad. The people of England and Ireland felt the circumstance in various ways. Sorrow, however, for the manner of his death, was predominant ; accompanied with a pensive sort of satisfaction, that the name of “ *Cas-*

tlereagh" would afflict them no more. Some part of the populace, however, were savage and ferocious in their extasy, scarcely to be credited in a Christian country. At Hambledon, at Laxfield, and at Petersham, the bells rang the greater part of the day on which he was buried ; and, at Stamford, a crowd of two hundred persons assembled, upon learning the death of the unfortunate Marquis, and gave three cheers. But the scene before Westminster Abbey was still more gross, for it was acted in the very presence of the body.

The funeral moved in silent and in solemn state, till it arrived at the western door of the Abbey. The body was taken from the hearse ; the pall was thrown over the coffin ; and the procession was moving towards the door, when hisses, groans, loud cheers, and hearty shouts of exultation, accompanied by waving of hats and clapping of hands, burst from many of the assembled spectators. As soon as the body entered the Abbey, the sounds ceased and all was silence. The more respectable portion of the assemblage thrilled with horror !

Knowing the intense feeling which had, for many years, been entertained by a large majority of the people, and by nearly the whole body of the populace ; and conscious that—

“ Never could true reconciliation grow,
Where wounds of deadly hate had pierc'd so deep ;”

I had often esteemed it possible that, either in England or in Ireland, the Marquis might, one day, be caught by the mob, in a moment of excitement, and hanged upon a lamp-post, or from the window of a porter-house : but I never could have supposed that, under any circumstances, any British or Irish subject could have been guilty of such conduct as this, in cold blood, after the unfortunate object of their hatred had ceased to influence the affairs of Europe.

Thus terminated the mortal career of one of the most virulent, influential, sarcastic, and pertinacious of her Majesty's political enemies : and pity takes place of resentment. There is one thing, however, to be said of the Marquis, that cannot be said of many others. He was, I believe, in no way in-

debted to her Majesty. He was the friend and relative of the Marquis and Marchioness of Hertford; and his Lordship was,—however inconsistent it may appear,—in no small degree indebted to their interest for his return to office, after the unfortunate expedition to Walcheren, and his rencontre with Mr. Canning;—his friend, his opponent, his rival, and successor.*

* It is curious to see how soon a Statesman's patronage is engaged! Mr. Canning had been in office only a few short weeks, when he wrote the following letter to a gentleman, who, having some connections in Liverpool, had applied to him for some situation under Government. The publication of this letter may, perhaps, chastise many a lingering hope; and preserve the Right Honourable Secretary from a great deal of painful solicitation.

“ Foreign Office, Oct. 21, 1822.

“ Mr. Canning presents his compliments to Mr. P*** and acknowledges the receipt of his letter, which came to Mr. Canning's hands only yesterday.

“ It is unfortunately quite out of Mr. Canning's power to offer for Mr. P***'s acceptance any appointment either at home or abroad. Every branch of office is not only full, but beset with expectants, who look forward, on one ground or another, to succeed to vacancies as they arise: and Mr. Canning's list of personal

* * * *

One day, it was reported to her Majesty, that his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence had indulged the luxury of inveighing against her in terms, little consistent with royal dignity—"Poor man!" ejaculated her Majesty, "he is much to be pitied!"

There was a time, when the Queen entertained little or no affection for his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent; but when she was informed that, a short time before his Royal Highness died, he had declared himself "weary of royalty," her Majesty shed tears, and exclaimed, "and I too am equally weary of it!"

The Queen entertained the most lively affection for the late King, when living; and always spoke of him, when dead, in terms of the most affectionate gratitude. I

claims upon him is already more numerous than he knows how to dispose of, or can expect to provide for, for many years to come. Under these circumstances, it is quite useless for Mr. P*** to trouble his friends in Liverpool for the recommendations, of which he makes mention: for, however he were recommended, it would not be in Mr. Canning's power to return any other answer than the above to Mr. P***'s application.

have heard, that she associated him with the following passage in Macbeth:—

—This Duncan

*Hath borne his faculties so meek, hath been
So clear in his great office, that his virtues
Will plead, like angels.*

Whatever political opinion might be entertained by the party, speaking, no one ever, in her company, alluded to George the Third, but in terms of respect. This affection naturally reminds us of what Lord Dartmouth says, William the Third told the Duke of Leeds, viz. that he must be very cautious of saying any thing before Queen Mary, that looked like disrespect, to her father, since she never forgave it; and he instanced the example of the Marquis of Halifax, who had lost all manner of credit with her, for unreasonable jesting on that subject.

* * * * *

Her Majesty loved her daughter with unbounded affection; but there were times, when she permitted her apprehensions to get the better not only of her discretion, but of her justice. I have been told, that she,

one day, said to her Royal Highness, " you know not fully the meaning, or the extent, of the conspiracy against me ; it extends even to yourself. Sovereigns desire to have **HEIRS**, not **HEIRESSES**. Suppose me dead, or what is worse, suppose me disgraced and divorced, your title to the throne might last no longer, than two short years. You have, therefore, more to apprehend, than I have."

When her Majesty first learnt the melancholy history of her daughter's death, she appeared, for some minutes, insensible to the afflicting intelligence. She seemed to feel, as if it were an impossible event. The appalling circumstance, however, at length, breaking in upon her, she moved from seat to seat, and from room to room in speechless agony ; and two days elapsed, before she could obtain the consolatory relief of a flood of tears.

The Queen, like all women of excellent dispositions, required something to engage her affections every day. Her daughter was torn from her ; she felt the vacuum ; and, like Marie Antoinette, she took a child from parents of inferior condition ; and not

all the insults, injuries, and ignominies; which that unfortunate circumstance entailed upon her, could induce her to give him up. The more her enemies persevered; the more she persevered; the quicker they advanced, the firmer she resolved. Sometimes she treated their malice with contempt; sometimes with merriment; sometimes with ridicule; but seldom with anger. For she well knew, that as there were many amongst them, who would whisper, insinuate, assert, swear, and even execute, any thing to encrease their incomes, to gain an accession of title, or to acquire private or political interest, she considered them all, as being governed by their master-passions; and, therefore, more entitled to her pity, than to her anger: knowing full well, that let them whisper, insinuate, assert, swear, and execute what they would, the consequences of their baseness and their atrocity would, sooner or later, fall, like a thunder-bolt, upon their own heads.

Her Majesty was far from being extravagant, yet she was almost continually in debt. But had she lived one year longer,

so entirely was she convinced of how much princes lose in being inattentive to pecuniary obligations, that she would, perhaps, have been almost the only member of a royal house in Europe, unincumbered with debts. Her Majesty was sensible, that what was argued, in respect to the boundless profusion of the Count d'Artois, who, in the short administration of M. de Calonne, received from the public treasury a sum, exceeding one million,* might be equally applied to princes of every age and country. "Retrenchment to a man of his high rank is a smaller sacrifice, than to any other person; because, all essential pleasures and gratifications he would continue to enjoy; and that respect and precedence, which others attempt to purchase by profusion and ostentatious expense, his high birth secured to him without them."

Her Majesty loved cards too much; but she never gambled;—she played merely for amusement. She dined at too early an hour for persons of fashion, and disregarded ce-

* Proved by the publication of the celebrated red book.

remony and etiquette,* too explicitly, for the admiration, or even the tolerance of

* Madame Campan frequently alludes to the hatred of the late Queen of France for ceremony and etiquette.

“ Speaking of etiquette, I do not allude to that order of state, laid down for days of ceremony in all Courts. I mean those minute ceremonies, that were observed towards our Kings in their inmost privacies, in their hours of pleasure, in those of pain, and even during the most revolting of human infirmities. Under this sort of etiquette, our Princes were in private treated as idols ; but in public, they were martyrs to decorum.— Marie Antoinette found at Versailles a multitude of customs established, and revered, which appeared to her insupportable.

“ One of the customs, most disagreeable to the Queen, was that of dining, every day, in public. Marie Leckzinska had constantly submitted to this wearisome practice. Marie Antoinette followed it as long as she was Dauphiness. The Dauphin dined with her, and each branch of the family had its public dinner daily. The ushers suffered all decently dressed people to enter ; the sight was the delight of persons from the country. Very ancient usage, too, required that the Queens of France should appear in public, surrounded by women only. Even at meals no persons of the other sex attended to serve at table. The Queen, upon her accession to the throne, abolished this usage altogether. She also freed herself from the necessity of being followed, in the palace of Versailles, by two of

persons, who esteem it a proof of a degenerate mind to be moderate in wish, and a mark of weakness and even folly, to be grateful to persons of subordinate rank.

Her imprudencies, it must be confessed, were many and great ; but between imprudence and guilt, there is—though frequently unacknowledged,—a wide and rapid river. Guilt, for the most part, is wary ; insinuating ; *sub silentio* ; and, for a long time at least, is an equal match for spies, ene-

her women in court dresses, during those hours of the day, when the ladies in waiting were not with her.—From that time, she was accompanied only by a single valet de chambre, and two footmen. All the errors of Marie Antoinette were of the same description with those, which I have just detailed. A disposition gradually to substitute the simple manners of private life, for those of Versailles, was more injurious to her, than she could possibly have imagined.”

“ When the sovereignty becomes a magistracy,” said Napoleon to his ministers; one day, in conversation with them, relative to the propriety of dining every Sunday in public, after the manner of the Kings of France, “ it should only be seen in full activity :—conferring favours, repairing injuries, transacting business, reviewing armies; and, above all, divested of the infirmities and the wants of human nature.”

mies, and observers of every kind. Innocence, on the other hand—open, generous, shunning all appearance of disguise, and disdaining to vindicate,—dares all its enemies to the proof, and meeting with false witnesses, prejudiced judges, or non-intellectual juries, falls a martyr to its own virtue.* —For three *imprudent*† harlots of fashion, there are twenty, thirty, nay perhaps fifty *prudent* ones. Those, who fall openly, are generally persons of strong passions, light heads, and of so romantic an imagination,

* Her Majesty should have duly considered the propriety of prudence, nevertheless.

“Whoever would ruin a person, or a government, must begin this operation, by spreading calumnies, to defame the person, or the government; for unquestionably the calumniator, let him be who he will, will always find a great number of persons, inclined to believe him, or to side with him. It therefore follows, that whenever the object of such calumnies is once lowered in credit by such means, he will soon lose the reputation and power, founded on that credit, and sink under the permanent and vindictive attacks of the calumniator.”

BUTEMBAURN.—*Medulla Theologia Moralis.*

† Incautious.

that they even esteem an ill consequence the best tie, that can bind to them a paramour! With these, love is a most extravagant and pestilential vanity indeed!

Her Majesty was, naturally, of a buoyant temperament, and of the most cheerful disposition, that any woman ever enjoyed. I heard a lady, who knew her intimately for many years, and that, too, in times of great affliction, assert, that she never knew her to be strongly agitated, but once. Though her courage was masculine, her manners were inexpressibly agreeable, and even fascinating. She was, indeed, as the present Honourable Secretary for Foreign Affairs bore witness to, the life and soul of every party she condescended to grace. But, though she enjoyed strong natural and acquired ability, she does not appear to have possessed much knowledge of human nature, or of the world. She disdained some persons too unequivocally; and trusted others so implicitly, that she even suffered herself to be deceived twice by the same persons.

Her Majesty resembled the late Queen

of France, in many essential particulars. When she came over to this country, as a bride, she was remarkably handsome, graceful, and engaging, though not beautiful. On returning from Jerusalem and Italy, however, she exhibited the sun-burnt countenance of an eastern traveller. Most of her beauty had disappeared. She looked coarse; and the awkwardness of being obliged, occasionally, to receive persons, whose rank in society might be implied from their language and deportment, gave sometimes a forced expression to her countenance, and an undignified constraint to her manners.

When the Grand Duke of Russia, afterwards Paul the First, was on a visit to Louis the XVIth., Madame Campan says, that Marie Antoinette was much intimidated. "I have just experienced," said her Majesty, "how much more difficult it is to play the part of a Queen in the presence of other sovereigns, or of princes born to become so, than before courtiers." This is, no doubt, true;—but it is no easy matter to hold a levee, to receive presentations,

or answer a multitude of addresses. "It is more difficult, than is generally supposed," said Napoleon to Las Cases, "to speak to every body in a crowded assembly ; and yet say nothing to any one :—to seem to know a multitude of people, to nine-tenths of whom you are a total stranger."

* * * *

I shall now presume to state a few opinions, in respect to this unfortunate subject.

First, That it is my unqualified impression, that her Majesty was essentially innocent, not only of one, but of all, the crimes of incontinence laid to her charge ; but that she was guilty of many, and almost unpardonable, indecorums ;—indecorums, however, which arose, less from an indelicate mind, than from the natural vivacity of her Majesty's character, and the unexampled manner, in which she was goaded from one extremity to another.

Secondly, That her Majesty would have entirely thrust (to use a vulgar expression) her adversaries "into the kennel," and have held them there ; had it not been for

her concealing, that she had duplicates of the Milan proceedings:—had she not been so impatient to forward her defence;—and had not some of her most active friends been decidedly such incapable persons!—Indeed, the incapacity, ignorance and presumption of some of them, were beyond any thing, that a person of common education could, for a moment, suppose!—and now that her Majesty is dead, I do not believe, that, of all those, who lived upon her bounty, or sought to rise by her influence, while living, five would sacrifice so small a sum, as seven shillings and sixpence, to save her memory from ignominy, or the best of her friends from a gaol. One instance is within my own knowledge;—and such an instance, I believe, is scarcely to be found in all the pages of that vast volume, which records the various instances of human ingratitude. I would not be a king or a queen for all the world!

Another instance is within my knowledge.—A gentleman applied, soon after her Majesty's decease, to a person of her Court, with whom he had been in frequent

communication, on subjects connected with her affairs, to advance a part of the money, necessary to defray some expenses, he had incurred in her cause.

Lady — —, in consequence, referred him to a solicitor, who advanced the money, upon his engaging to repay it at a stated period ; there subsisting between her ladyship and himself a private understanding, that there would be no difficulty in getting a reimbursement from the Queen's executors.

The time of repayment being near, Mr. * — made application to the proper quarter, for reimbursement ; but found, that, as her late Majesty's estate was considered insolvent, no claims would be allowed, unless they could be *legally* established. To this, of course, Mr. * — could do no otherwise than accede ; but, having returned two letters, written to him by command of the Queen, he was unable to prove ; and he was, in consequence, arrested by the solicitor, and detained in confinement several weeks. On his way home, he was seized with an illness, which confined him

to his house upwards of nine weeks; and he was, after a time, again thrown into confinement for an obligation, arising out of the same transaction. His entire pecuniary losses cannot be compensated under five hundred and fourteen pounds.

Having stated these circumstances to some of the late Queen's well-wishers, Mr. *—— was advised to petition the House of Lords; but Earl Grey assured him, it would be to little or no effect. He was then advised to petition the Privy Council; but the Secretary for Foreign Affairs informed him, by letter, that the Privy Council never entertained subjects, connected with pecuniary indemnifications.

He then resolved to apply to the House of Commons. He drew up a petition, in consequence, and sent it first to one member, and then another, (all of whom declined presenting it, upon one ground or another*) till at length one of the members

* One of these gentlemen conducted himself in so unfeeling and supercilious a manner, that he will, probably, have to make some apology to his constituents, at the next election for M——.

for Norwich, having ascertained, that the Ministers would advance no more money, on behalf of her late Majesty, stated to him, by letter, that the petition could not be received ;—since the House was not competent to receive any petitions of that kind, without the sanction of his Majesty, through the medium of his Ministers.

Previous to this, Mr. *—— had some correspondence with the Prince Leopold ; for, being no respecter of persons, and caring not, one grain of dust, whether, in his intercourse with men, they were princes, dukes, baronets, or peasants, he imagined, that, what was right in a peasant, in an esquire, or in a baronet; would be right in a prince. All the acknowledgment he could get, however, from the Royal Duke, was, that his Royal Highness,—however he might lament what he had experienced,—considered all claims, of whatever nature, against her Majesty, as belonging *exclusively* to her Majesty's administrators.

This answer not being satisfactory, Mr. *—— wrote to his Royal Highness again.— A similar answer. Upon this, he appealed

to his Royal Highness's feelings. No answer at all. A little irritated, he then appealed to his feelings and his judgment; and then came a letter, with a present of ten guineas! "Well," exclaimed Mr. *—, "I have heard that his Royal Highness is given, in some degree, to parsimony;—but here is a remarkable instance to the contrary." After some consideration, Mr. *— resolved to acknowledge his Royal Highness's Letter; and this he did in the following decided terms:—

"TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS, PRINCE LEOPOLD.

"Royal Sir,

"I have been injured in a manner, not to be submitted to; and your Royal Highness proposes to redress the injury with ten guineas! This I accepted, that I might not seem to wish to give offence;—but he must be a miserable driveller indeed, who could consent to compromise so considerable a loss for so miserable a consideration.

"If I write any thing to offend, your Royal Highness must consider the loss I have sustained, and the apparent heartlessness, with which it has been listened to.

"England expects its Princes to act like Princes—not like citizens, cheapening bales of cotton. I tell your Royal Highness, again and again, that it is for

your interest and honour, that my subject be enquired into. You have insulted me, with an offer of ten guineas ! I am a man—though comparatively humble—not to be insulted, even by a Prince.

“ I repeat it : it is indispensably necessary to your estimation as a Prince, (being so nearly connected with the late Princess Charlotte,) to cause it to be enquired into. I ask no more. You are a young man ; and I warn you, as a more experienced one, against a neglect, which, if persisted in, will injure your Royal Highness in many ways. Her Royal Highness requires, that your respect to her memory, should not be confined to memory and imagination alone. Your Royal Highness will be pleased to observe, that all I wish you to do is, to cause the subject to be enquired into, and then for you to act, as honour, integrity, and consistency, may dictate.

“ I have a family of children, and you are a young man, without incumbrance of any kind, enjoying a magnificent income, to part of which, I myself contribute, in the way of taxes and duties ; and yet you refuse to let the subject of my losses be enquired into ; although they were incurred out of zeal for your mother-in-law ; and what, though important to me, can be of little or no consequence to you.” **

Now, I have not the smallest doubt that there are many, nay a multitude, of persons, who have so nice a knowledge of what individuals ought to expect from princes, that they will insist, that no indemnification ought

to have been expected. Having occasionally read Plato, Tully's Offices, Fenelon, and Tillotson, I confess I think exactly the reverse. Nor is there one single demand, legal, equitable, or honorary, which, if the assets of the Queen are not sufficient to pay, this very Prince ought not, in my opinion, to discharge, in compliment to his royal and illustrious consort. Aye! even should it trench upon one half of his income; and that, too, not only with pleasure, but with dispatch.*

* A FABLE.

A young stag, who had been grazing, all his life, upon the top of a steep and parched mountain, was invited, one summer, by a fawn, into a luxuriant valley, belonging to the king, her father; who, soon after, gave him to her in marriage. After living together some time, the young hind died in giving birth to a fawn.—Previous to her death, and while upon her death-bed, with tears in her eyes, she besought the young stag to watch over the life and fortunes of her mother, who was beset by skilful archers, fleet hunters, and sharp-scented stag hounds. Soon after the death of the daughter, the mother, being hard pressed by the hunters, was caught in a net, which her adversaries had spread for her. A mastiff, passing that way, hearing the cry of the hounds, and seeing the poor creature

* * * * *

The circumstances I have mentioned, were among the causes, which operated to the prevention of a triumph:—to which may be added a want of unity of purpose and plan amongst her Majesty's advisers; the non-establishment of a council; and the almost open distrust (first exhibited at St. Omer's) which her Majesty occasionally exhibited against one of the persons, whom, of all others, it was her interest to conciliate.

panting for breath, assisted others in giving alarm to the well disposed stags and hinds of the neighbourhood; and exhorted them, in a loud voice, to protect the unfortunate hind from the malice of her pursuers:—but in doing this, he became so entangled in the brakes and briars, surrounding the net, that he could not extricate himself. Intelligence was immediately sent; when the young stag, being in possession of rich pastures, watered by a clear and never-failing fountain, sent him a few dry bones; but left him to get out of the brambles as well as he could.

MORAL.

Little care they, who revel in plenty and splendour,
 How many may pine in chill poverty's blast;
 With forms full as fair, and with hearts full as tender,
 On this world's friendless stage by adversity cast!

MOORE.

Thirdly, that though her Majesty believed, *at one time*, that the King was the main instigator of the various plots against her life and character, she had a *secret affection for his Majesty to the day of her death*: but,—as a natural consequence of her consciousness, that the King entertained no affection, and the rest of the Royal Family no respect for her in return,—her greatest pleasure, for many years, consisted in adding to the mortification, not only of the King, but of almost every member of the Royal Family; and this sentiment was, I believe, the main-spring of almost all her indiscretions. I shall give an illustrative instance:

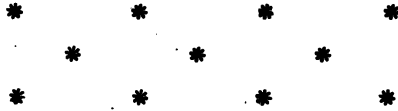
At one of her Majesty's parties, when living at Como, the Queen, then Princess of Wales, was observed to pay a very particular attention to an Italian nobleman. A few days after, the Queen said to a British peer, who had been present, "I suppose your Lordship was rather surprised to see me so attentive to ———, the other evening?"—"Your Royal Highness is certainly very engaging," replied the Peer.—"Oh,

“my dear sir,” returned the Princess, “you must know, that I bear some resemblance to a wasp. I love to sting those, who love to sting me; but I never sting till I am stung. Why, my dear Lord, the whole scene of Tuesday evening will be at Carlton House in the course of a fortnight; sketched, coloured, and finished in a manner, that neither you, nor I, would recognize it again:—but all that is what I enjoy;—I did it on purpose;—I do love to tease him from the bottom of my heart!”

Fourthly, That there are seven persons, now living, to whose names the laws will not permit me more particularly to allude, who would give their titles, their lands, their fortunes, their influence,—nay, the whole world, if they possessed it,—if her Majesty had never been born, or being born and now dead, that she could again return to life, and forgive them the almost inconceivable atrocities, she received at their hands.

Fifthly, That his Majesty believed, from the beginning, that the Queen was guilty; constantly acted upon that impression;

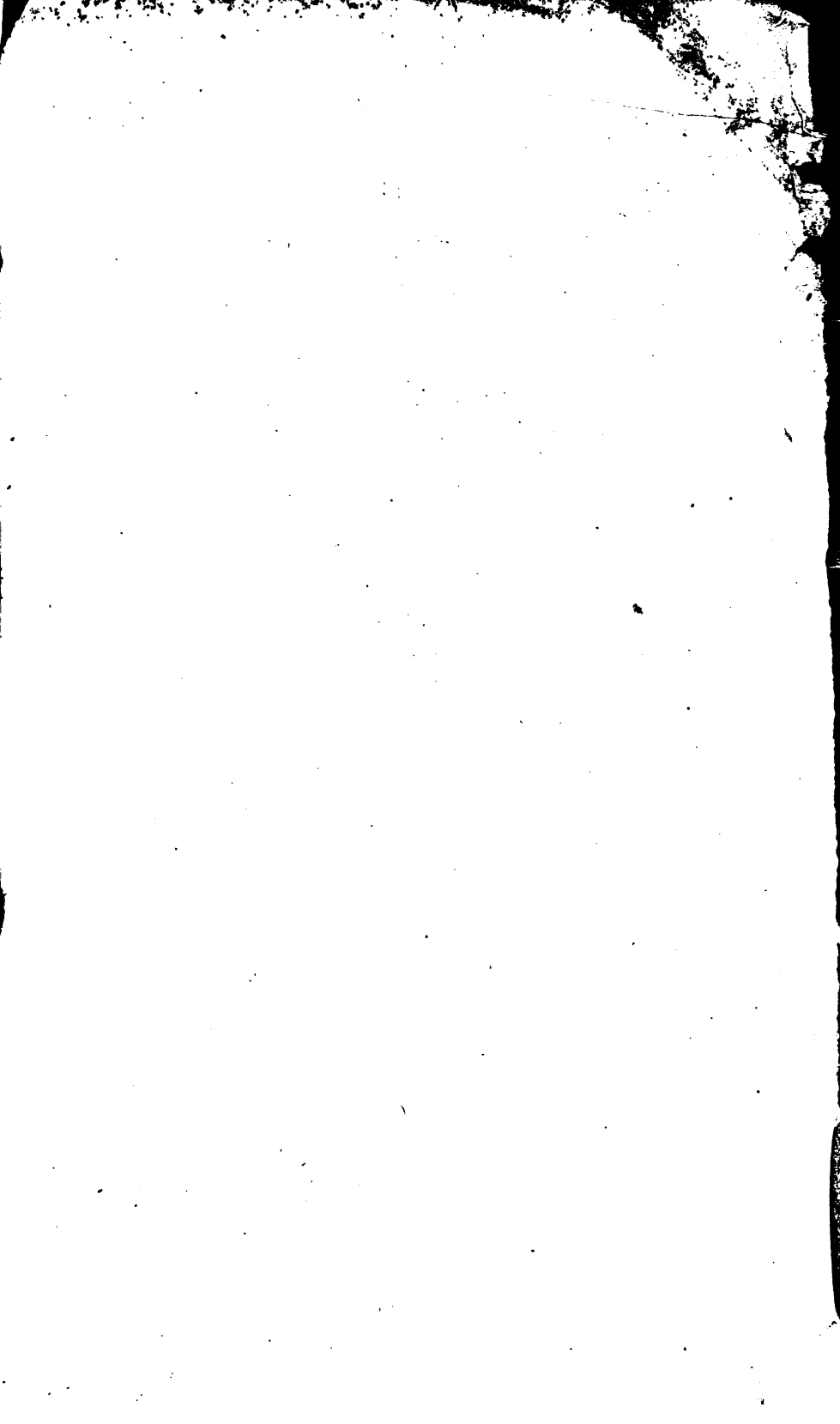
and continues in that belief to the present day:—but that he has not only lost all feeling of asperity towards those, who espoused her Majesty's cause; but, that he entertains not only a great, but a pre-eminent, respect for many of them.



FINIS.

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E. B. S.

